

ESSAYS IN FALLACY

ANDREW MACPHAIL



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NOTE

THE Essays which are contained in this book are addressed immediately to the woman, the professor, and the theologian, — three persons who have much in common, the one with the other. The Essay with which the book begins has arisen out of a series of articles contributed to "The Spectator." Upon that occasion the conclusions set forth were accepted in certain quarters as being only partially true, especially by persons who had not read them. Also, the limit of space imposed by periodical publication compels a condensed form of statement, and does not permit of that expanse of writing and wealth of illustration by which a free asperity of expression may be obtained, and full conviction enforced. The exposition of the psychology of the suffragette in the second paper is, I think, sufficiently obvious, and does not require further comment. The fallacy in theology was expounded in the presence of an Inter-denominational Conference of Ministers with so cheerful acceptance that I am induced to present the interpretation of this recondite and perplexing

matter in a more elaborate form. In the Essay on Education I am on safer ground, although long contemplation has deprived me of that freshness of perception with which I approached the previous themes. With fine subtlety of instinct, he who instils intellectual doubts has always been branded as “the enemy”; and yet, in defence, I beg leave to put forward to the persons for whom this book is intended the plaintive enquiry which the Apostle addressed to the Galatians: “*Am I become an enemy because I speak the truth?*”

A. M.

CONTENTS

I. The American Woman	1
II. The Psychology of the Suffragette	55
III. The Fallacy in Education	101
IV. The Fallacy in Theology	191

THE AMERICAN WOMAN

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THE old-fashioned American novelist who was pressed for an explanation of the waywardness of his heroine always found it in the fact that she was born of a French mother. The English writer of early romance invariably attributed the vagaries of his heroines to the circumstance that they grew up without mothers at all.

The second of these observations was originally made, I believe, by Francis Jeffrey in the "Edinburgh Review," and has been confirmed more recently by Mr. Allport and Mr. Mount in the "Spectator." So shall we explain the unsophisticated Miranda, the ingenuous Desdemona, the vivacious Rosalind, and the wayward Jessica. The ostentatious prudery of Pamela, the sprightly courage of Sophia Western, the dourness of Jane Eyre, the wrongheadedness of Dorothea Brooke, the obvious virtues of Flora MacIvor, Rebecca, Rowena, Julia Mannering, Di Vernon, Jeanie Deans, Amy Robsart, Alice Lee, Catherine Glover, — indeed, of all Scott's heroines with the single exception of Lucy Ashton, and all Shakespeare's with the exception of Juliet, — are trace-

able to the circumstance that they were motherless.

The foreign novelist of to-day finds quite another explanation, not of the virtues, — for novelists no longer find virtuous heroines interesting, — but of the caprice of his heroine in the fact that she is, or is descended from, an “American Woman,” as he understands the term. And so, in roundabout fashion, we have got to our subject at last. All novels are written for women except the few which are worth writing. Time was when their characters achieved distinction by reason of the temptations which they resisted rather than by the concessions which they made. The English heroine resists or yields to her desire for place; her French sister is impelled by love; it is luxurious idleness alone which appeals to the “American Woman” of foreign fiction. In literature and life this is the clue to her actions.

This prodigy, which looms so portentous, will bear some investigation. The term itself, whilst it has a certain definitive value, is also capable of wide extension in time and place. The manifestation is not confined to the American continent, nor even to the United States. Indeed it is entirely inaccurate as a description of the mothers, wives, and daughters of the average American

man ; and it will be of incalculable benefit to the bewildered foreigner, as well as to American women, if we can succeed in establishing the distinction. To expose that fallacy is the severe task to which I have set my hand. It is a difficult subject to handle discreetly, and will demand a nice manipulation of words, to avoid the charge that one is a profane railer at the sanctities, or has descended to the vulgar exercise of public calumny.

This anomaly in classification is not confined to any one department of natural history, as may be readily illustrated. We describe that anatoid, web-footed bird which is larger than a duck and smaller than a swan as the Canada Goose, whilst in reality the animal is the *Branta canadensis*. It is not a goose, and is not especially indigenous to Canada. To speak of the " American Woman " as if she were confined to, or even especially characteristic of, the United States, is as if one were to assume that the common scale which destroys apple trees is found nowhere else than in San José, or that the potato-bug confines its ravages to Colorado. These pests did not even originate in the places whose names they bear, and the " American Woman " of the novelists was a common occurrence long before the United States were discovered.

It is a familiar fact, however, that a disease which occurs sporadically in one *milieu* will burst into an epidemic of unexampled fury when it is transferred to a new environment. The malady known as measles, which is comparatively harmless in all civilized communities, becomes a plague worse than small-pox when primitive peoples are inoculated with its virus. Upon this analogy it would appear probable that the "American Woman" was introduced into the United States at a very early period, and finding there a suitable environment, began to develop an exuberant growth and to thrive exceedingly, with such coarse luxuriousness as one beholds in a shade-dwelling plant which is suddenly transported into the light.

An experience of a similar nature has been witnessed in England in the case of rats. The "Old-English" black rat, up to the eighteenth century, was in possession of the country. But about that time, and curiously coincident with certain political events, England was invaded by the "Hanoverian" brown rat, which was probably Mongolian in origin. The invaders — according to this natural law — began to breed with amazing rapidity, and are at present in entire control of the situation. And yet the analogy is scarcely convincing, since rats increase and multiply by

the process of ordinary generation, whilst the type under consideration breeds only very sparingly. By a process of calculated sterility which eventually becomes automatic, she attains to the illusory reward of childlessness.

It would be too large a task to trace the genesis of the "American Woman" beyond the period of her entry into New England, fascinating as that investigation would be. The evidence of her existence in remote times and in diverse places is ample. In Ephesus we seem to suspect her presence. Indeed the words of Paul are confirmatory: "I suffer not a woman to usurp authority over a man, but to be in silence." Upon this matter of women the Apostle had made up his mind. Modest apparel, and sobriety, and good works, he told the women of the mongrel city of Corinth, were more becoming to them than costly array. We could well wish that, upon other matters of doctrine, he had been equally specific. In the remote days of the much distressed Ezekiel there were also women of this type, who, by the absurd practice of "sewing pillows to their armholes, made the hearts of the righteous sad." The Proverbialist also, in his great eulogy, had this woman in his mind when he declared that "favour is deceitful and beauty vain."

We suspect her presence in Rome as early as the close of the Punic War, if Livius informs us truly of an incident which finds its exact counterpart in the conduct of the women who have recently been behaving with unseemliness in the House of Commons. The reasons are well given by Cato, the Consul, in his speech: "If men had retained their rights and dignity within the family, the women would never have broken out in this public manner. But now we allow them to take part in politics. If they succeed, who knows where they will end?" To this L. Valerius, the Tribune, made the familiar reply: "Women cannot hold public offices or gain triumphs; they have no public occupations. What, then, can they do but devote their time to adornment and dress? Surely, then, men ought to let them have their own way in these matters."

The "American Woman" was early upon the scene in New England, probably as early as 1620, the year in which the first ship-load of passengers arrived. The annals of the community are full of accounts of her doings. One of the most froward brought the accusation against the ministers in Boston that they were, with one exception, under a covenant of works; and she made out so good a case that she was banished. A companion of

hers harassed the ministers for five years by arising in church and asking questions, apparently to elucidate the sermon, but in reality to afford her the opportunity of applying opprobrious epithets to the preachers. At length she was forcibly removed from the communion-table and "put forth by the constable." A third woman pushed her recalcitrancy to such a point that "she would not bow her knee even at the name of Jesus." The whip and cleft stick was her portion; yet in spite of these precautionary measures, the evil had grown so large that in ten years sixty women assembled regularly to "revolve points of doctrine." A diet of ministers was established to consider further measures of repression, but it is perhaps needless to add that nothing very definite came of their deliberations. The general opinion prevailed that the phenomenon was a new one in the history of the world; but, in opposition to this, John Cotton cited the case of Eve, of Sara, of Jezebel, of Herodias, and the Scarlet Woman. He contended boldly that the type which was causing them so much annoyance had not arisen *de novo*, but had come from the devil.

The origin of evil has always been a fascinating speculation to the novelist as well as to the theologian; but all writers are agreed that it

lies somewhere outside of their own hearts and beyond the confines of their own country. When Canadians discover political and social evils in their midst, they are quite sure that they come from the United States. The outbreaks of wickedness, which occurred sporadically, though not infrequently, in Scotland, ranging in heinousness from assassination to sleeping in church, were ultimately traced across the Tweed to England, or across the Channel to France. The early inhabitants of New England — Puritan though they were — found that the “American Woman” was also present with them; and, having no neighbours from whom they could acquire the infection, they boldly ascribed the phenomenon to an outside source and laid it to the charge of the devil.

One has a certain hesitancy in contradicting the divines of New England upon a question in which they were so much at home; yet I think that, by a less esoteric exegesis, we may arrive at an understanding of this phenomenon. Idleness alone, which they described as the “mother of naughtiness,” will account for all those characteristics which are expressed by the term “American Woman.” It is an eternal law — at least it has been a law since the beginning of created things — that an organ, an animal, or a species

cannot exist independently of its function. Life and growth are bound up with work, and we have not yet grown so mighty that we have emancipated ourselves from the dominion of this law.

The primitive functions of the woman were to prepare food and clothing, to care for her mate and the offspring which she had assisted in producing. In course of time, and for reasons largely beyond her control, these activities have become less incumbent upon her. With one exception they have been usurped by the male or placed in the hands of hirelings. In the progress of civilization and by the division of labour the food is purchased partially or wholly prepared. The cereal food and the soup require only the addition of boiling water, as the advertisements boast; the fish and meat may be eaten without the necessity of her performing that humble labour. In America this industrial change has been remarkably rapid, and there are women living in idleness to-day, who in their youth took the sheaf from the field and had the evening meal prepared from it before the night fell.

Every advance in that industrial development of which we are boasting continually makes for the destruction of the family. Originally each family was more or less self-contained and mutu-

ally supporting. The man procured food from the forest, from the sea, or from the soil, and he was aided in these occupations by his boys, who became competent at a very early age. The woman dressed the skins, made them into garments, and prepared the food for eating. In later times she carded the wool, spun the yarn, wove the cloth, and fashioned it into clothing; and there are men yet living who look back with yearning to a family life in which these occupations were the chief concern. At an early age the girl too was initiated into these mysteries. She was self-supporting from her childhood; and, indeed, added to the wealth and comfort of the family. The child, instead of being a burden, was an asset. Both male and female were efficient members of the community, and there was an honoured place for even the maiden aunt, made honourable by her usefulness. This was a sound, sober, and healthy life, dignified by honest toil and the pride of skill and independence.

Into this community of families comes the manufacturer with his machinery, and his love of money, and his formulas about efficiency, saving of labour, industrial progress, and commercial development. Every turn of his wheels disintegrates the family by destroying the multifarious

occupation of every member of it. The butter which used to be churned in the dairy kept cool by an over-hanging willow-tree is now made in a factory. The sheep which the children tended upon the hillside are gone, and with them the occupations of carding, spinning, and weaving, which made the long winter evenings too short for the work to be done. The larder is stored day by day from the grocer's waggon, and those delectable times are vanished in which the womenkind, with a book ready at hand for an emergency of idleness, gathered the apple and the berry, and preserved them in shining rows, not for that year alone but for next year and the year after.

The care of the offspring has been handed over to male and female hirelings,—physicians and nurses,—and thus a wide outlet for the physical and mental activity of the woman has been effectually stopped. Deprived of the care of her children, the woman suffers a diminution of her affection, and it is replaced by a noisy sentimentalism which is equally disastrous for mother, child, and husband. It is the maternal instinct running riot. It exhausts itself upon the infant, and none remains for the growing child when it might be of some value. The American mother is famous for the care of her infant and the neglect of her child;

and yet we cannot but wonder that the results should be so good as they are, when we reflect how many mothers are ignorant, how many are indolent, and how many there are whose work and leisure are misapplied.

We have seen that women have handed over their function of preparing food to the cook, the making of clothing to the tailor, the care of their children to the physician. If these substitutes were females, the case would not be so anomalous; but, on the contrary, they are males, and I believe that all women now recognize the superiority of the man-cook, the man-tailor, and the man-midwife. It was left to Ibsen to discover that a woman could not sew a button to a garment effectually, and he was in the habit of performing that humble office for himself. Since his death, however, his wife has confessed that she made it a secret practice to reinforce his attempt with her own needle.

The country has grown rich, but the family is destroyed. I am quite well aware how far the present condition is due to the mistaken activities of men, but I am not speaking of them just now. When the family life was swallowed up in the industrial life the natural occupations of women vanished. There was then idleness and money for the women of the rich; idleness alone for the

women of the poor. To escape from the continuous torture of sheer want, these were obliged to take refuge in the street, and the factory, which is twin-sister to the slum. But for the daughters of the newly rich there was not even this poor refuge from *le vide effrayant de la vie*. Both classes are now more unhappy than when they lived in trees. The women of the poor are imploring the world for leisure, and the women of the rich are imploring it for work as a relief from pampered self-indulgence. They are not allowed to earn money, since that would be taking the bread from their poorer sisters. In default of answer they are creating work for themselves, and are even willing to perform the drudgery of charitable societies, for the sake of tiring themselves out. This feverish desire to do something is a sign of the malady of the age; and it is a piteous spectacle,— the one class overburdened with uncongenial toil, the other oppressed with idleness, and wandering into all kinds of vagary through sheer weariness, or resolution to escape from the helpless entanglement of the sordid perplexities and mean trivialities of domestic life. And yet these idle busybodies, worn out with their silly labours, are willing to tread the same weary round the next day.

The Catholic Church for sixteen centuries has made provision against idleness on the part of its women, in institutions where they have two sovereign remedies, work and religion. Some feeble beginnings have been made in other churches, which have established sisterhoods, and revived the diaconate for women. But the hospital appears to open the most generous door, though one hears that it is not so well liked as a refuge for idle women as it used to be before it was sought by women who believed that nursing was a less humble employment than those in which they had been previously engaged.

Forty years ago it was the fashion to pretend that the world could do very well without religion, if only it had enough science. The scientists are not now so sure of their ground, but they comfort themselves with the further delusion that when we get flying-machines we shall be right. However it may be with men, women cannot get on without religion. I am not speaking, either, of that inward, ardent desire after righteousness, though that in itself is not to be despised, but of an organized system which goes by the name of Church. It makes for the organization of the family also and for domestic piety, that piety which even in these days impels many an American father to

worship God in his household whilst the rain is threatening his crops in the fields. All human conduct has its roots in the emotions, and is variously moulded by the reason — by women less than by men. These roots are twisted and interwoven; and when one is stunted, especially so important an one as that which goes down into the springs of religion, the growth is bound to be eccentric and without symmetry.

In a society which has grown up by natural process in the course of slow centuries, the woman performs her duties easily, almost unconsciously. In a society which is the product of only a generation, the woman who aspires beyond her primitive functions is an amateur in a new rôle. We have all seen and pitied an animal compelled to perform a new and uncongenial task — a dog in a dance, or a monkey sedulous over his sewing. Off the stage, we are told that these animals are subject to fits of ill-temper, to outbursts of emotion, to discontent; that they crave for excitement, and that they finally “break down.” It is not disclosing any professional confidences to say that symptoms of a somewhat similar nature have been observed in the case of the type of woman which we are considering, as a result of her performance.

The man and the woman are complementary,

the one to the other. In so far as the woman acquires the qualities and characteristics of the man she becomes to that extent futile, as futile as the man who has acquired the quality of effeminacy. No matter how effeminate a man becomes, he can never be so adorable as a woman. He will always be an amateur in that rôle, and the woman has him beaten at the start. The man, *qua* man, in virtue of his own and his ancestral experience has an advantage over the woman in such exercises as playing golf, smoking cigarettes, and drinking whiskey, which she will find it difficult to overcome even by the most assiduous effort at imitation. She, also, in our lifetime at least, must remain an amateur; and her self-consciousness destroys all pleasure to herself or the beholder in her heroic endeavour to be something other than that for which she was designed.

Reduced by a power not her own to a condition of idleness, her case is a most unhappy one, and her manifold activities in the street, in places of entertainment, and finally in the divorce court are merely blind strivings to free herself from an intolerable *ennui*. Her life is one of rivalry for appearance and position. The struggle exhausts her energy and all other means at her disposal. Her mind becomes warped and her ambition dis-

torted. Eternal restlessness is her portion, a dislike of any discipline, a hatred of any law save that which her own whim, will, or desire imposes. To impose this law upon others becomes her constant occupation.

The most oppressive burden which a woman is called upon to endure is that anomaly amongst created beings, the wearing of clothes. In the state of nature it is ordained that the female shall go quietly. The male is the gaudy, strutting creature. But in the race to which we belong, it is the woman who is glorious, and this burden of splendour falling upon an organism which is unqualified for the task breaks it down hopelessly, and renders it unfit for the performance of its proper functions. The possession of splendid apparel involves the necessity for its display, and out of that arises vanity, jealousy, rivalry, and all uncharitableness. This is the genesis of the thing which is known as Society.

To the American man there is something mysterious about this society, and his womenkind alone are supposed to understand it. He is in reality a simple-minded person ; and a certain class of women have entered into a conspiracy against him, by which they shall live in idleness, and he shall " labour and toil, and rob, and steal, and

bring all to his love." The mark of social distinction in primitive communities is idleness on the part of the woman. One mark of poverty is that women are obliged to work. Brought up in an old-fashioned way, the American man thinks that he has extricated himself from poverty when he has succeeded in keeping his womenkind free from the necessity of work. Speaking generally, this is the aim of the women of this type, — to live a life of luxurious idleness.

The next anomaly under which we labour is that we are compelled to live in houses and have not yet become convinced what the proper form of habitation is. The American man is himself without taste. The possession of taste is the prerogative of the woman. Accordingly she is the one who deals with the architect and decorator, and is supposed to understand all matters pertaining to architecture, decoration, and furnishing in virtue of her femininity alone. When it comes to a question of building a "home" — as if a home could be built with hands — the rich, free, woman, to demonstrate her equality with the rich woman of older communities, must have a house which resembles "the stately homes of England," or a villa which vies in beauty with the abode of a "merchant-prince" of mediæval Florence: or

to demonstrate the catholicity which exists in a free country, she will probably achieve a combination of both, with certain features added, which belong exclusively to a cathedral or a fortress.

This architectural orgy is enlivened by a piano, we shall say. The more impecunious woman cannot afford even that poor luxury ; but she must have a contrivance which looks like a piano, whilst in reality it is a bed. It serves the purpose of a piano very well, and helps to preserve the semblance of equality ; although the duality of its function interferes with its efficiency as a sleeping-place.

Again, the rich woman carries in her hand a bag, or satchel, — to give to that convenient article a more elegant designation, — made from the skin of an alligator. This is a mark of distinction which is intolerable in an atmosphere of freedom. Accordingly, the machines are set to work to imitate this handy contrivance, and the spectacle is produced of a whole nation carrying bags which are made out of paper and are not even frankly false.

In the more degrading social conditions which prevail in older communities each citizen wears clothing which he has learned by experience and tradition is most suitable to his occupation in life ; and this practice leads to a distinction between workers in various trades, to the creation of classes.

The flare and pearlies of the costermonger, the hobnailed boots of the ploughboy, the blue smock of the butcher, the corduroy trousers of the labourer, the garb of the city clerk, all proclaim the class as clearly as a uniform betrays the colonel or the clergyman. In a free country a style is established, no one can say exactly how. In a month the wife of every member of the community, plumber, barber, factory-hand, and millionaire, is clad in imitation and rivalry of every other.

There yet remains one function which is in the exclusive possession of the woman, and no means have been discovered up to the present time by which it can be performed any better, though even that is done in a poor, "make-shift way." This is the part which she plays in the propagation of the species. Deprived of this excuse for existence, the female of the human race becomes entirely a parasite unless she finds other justification. And yet in respect of this remaining function there is some evidence that the woman is not doing her best, that in fact she is following the example of that unprofitable servant who wrapped up his one talent in a napkin.

It is quite possible that this indisposition to exercise a natural function is due not to recalcitrancy, but to an instinct that the species is not

worth reproducing. By a purely mental process a woman might arrive at this conclusion, and there is some ground for that view of the case, but she should remain true to the austerity of this doctrine, and not vitiate the intellectual independence of which she boasts by involving herself in social conditions. The time for proclaiming one's freedom is before, not after, one has consented to eat the bread of another. But the plea which is put forward is the less cynical one that the quality of offspring is more important than quantity. This, I believe, is a favourite subject of discussion at those assemblages of women which, with some degree of incongruity, are styled mothers' meetings. At one of these meetings which I had the privilege of addressing, enquiry showed that the technical motherhood estimated in terms of offspring amounted to .87 per person present. An examination of this defence of quality against quantity involves the assumption that it is worth while to consider the opinion of persons who know nothing of the matter in hand, and the further assumption that motherhood is conferred by the mere act of attendance at these meetings. The plea is fallacious, for it is a law of life discovered by experience that individual degeneration of the offspring accompanies numerical diminution.

The fall of the race always comes through the woman. Tempted by the "subtle beast" towards a false ambition and away from her appointed task, she puts forth her hand to attain to a knowledge which is forbidden, and brings the disaster of obliteration. That is the curse of Eve. But one who would not object much to the sudden extinction of the race might well deplore a long gradation of decay.

There is a profound scientific refutation of this fallacy that quality may be obtained at the expense of quantity. Professor Karl Pearson has shown from his investigations into the inheritance of tuberculosis that the earlier members of a large family are more apt to inherit disease than those who are born later, and that therefore the limitation of families to two children, which now appears to be the desirable number, is increasing the percentage of persons with weak constitutions. This is nature's method of dealing with the fictitious law of primogeniture. Human ingenuity is powerless in face of the mysterious laws by which reproduction is governed; and created beings invariably get the worst of it when they set themselves in opposition to those laws.

But, fortunately or unfortunately, a diminishing birth-rate is confined for the most part to

those societies which we are accustomed to think of as highly civilized. The phenomenon is not new. The Greeks foresaw and feared it. To them the Amazon was the woman broken away from her natural obligations, always a peril to the race. Amongst the Romans, Juvenal made his grim jests at her expense. A false education, he affirmed in his "Legend of Bad Women," which stimulated false energies and excited abnormal ambitions, made her contemptuous of her femininity, and encouraged her to substitute for it an ideal which was hybrid and grotesque. It was against this type the jest of the comic stage was directed: "A man with her has only two happy days, the day he marries her and the day he buries her."

It was a favourite view of Sir Thomas Browne that the stork chose to inhabit only those countries which were free. Strangely enough, in these days, it is to the countries which are free — if freedom be indicated by a republican form of government — that this bird of good omen comes the least frequently. We may leave France out of consideration, for that unhappy country has been faithfully dealt with by other moralists, and look a little nearer home.

Previous to the year 1840, in the United States, the increase in population by native reproduction

was seven times greater than the growth of immigration. Both Washington and Jefferson had estimated that in the year 1875 their country would contain sixty millions of native-born Americans. As a matter of fact, according to the census of 1900, the numbers were not more than forty-two millions, the rest of the population being made up of immigrants, the children of immigrants, and negroes. Massachusetts, at the time of the census, had in its population of 2,805,346 as many as 843,324 persons of foreign birth. The Massachusetts Bureau of Labour Statistics has compiled a more recent report on the nationalities of the people engaged in the industries of the State. It deals with industries and professions employing 1,079,000 persons, and of these only 62.46 per cent were born in Massachusetts; in New York, 76.6 per cent of the citizens are aliens or the children of aliens. The first federal census was taken in 1790, the last in 1900. During that period the American family has dwindled from an average of 5.8 to 4.6 persons; and the number of children under 16 years of age in each family has diminished from 2.8 to 1.5. There are only two other countries in the world, Austria and Germany, in which the ratio is lower. If the normal rate which prevailed in colonial days had been continued,

there would be now in the United States twenty million more native-born white citizens than there are.

In England a remarkable decline in the birth-rate is recorded in the Registrar-General's return for the last quarter of 1907. The births registered in England and Wales during the fourth quarter of that year were in the proportion of 24.8 annually per 1,000 of the population. This is 2.5 per 1,000 below the mean birth-rate recorded in the ten preceding fourth quarters, and is the lowest rate recorded in any fourth quarter since civil registration was established. For the whole of 1907 the birth-rate in England and Wales was 26.3 per 1,000, the lowest on record, and 2.1 below the average birth-rate for the preceding ten years.

We have been accustomed to look to the family life of Germany as the last refuge of sentiment and religion, and yet that country does not appear to be an exception to the law that an advancing civilization and a dwindling birth-rate go hand in hand. We are informed by Professor Werner Sombart, a sufficient authority, that the increase in the population of Germany from forty millions in 1870 to sixty-one millions in 1907 is due not to an increasing birth-rate, but to diminishing

death-rate. In 1872 the deaths were 30.6 per thousand of population, whilst in 1907 the number had fallen to 20 per thousand. During the same period the birth-rate had fallen from 40.7 births for every thousand of population to 37.4 in 1891 and to 34 in 1905. Even this is above the average: in Holland the birth-rate is 31.6; in Denmark, 29; in Belgium, 28.1; and in France it is 21.3 per thousand.

An instinct fails when it ceases to be exercised. When women, in the progress of civilization, abandoned the practice of living in trees for the comfort of a cave, it may be well imagined that they quickly forgot the nice art of tree-keeping. Similarly, those who live in "flats" no longer retain a remembrance of the days when they dwelt in houses, and the house as a habitation has become as extinct for them as the cave. The instinct for propagating the species is no exception to this law, and in time the female of the human will become sexless in all but form, which is now so firmly fixed that we may not expect any fundamental alteration. And yet a variation of type is appearing. The "American Woman" of whom I am speaking is growing large, sleek, and fat. She retains her girlhood until comparatively late in life, and then suddenly, to her grief and

rage, falls into a condition of senility which no devices serve long to postpone. Indeed the expression "married girls" is commonly employed in those periodicals which concern themselves with her doings. And the proof that this instinct is failing is found in the remedy which is offered, that the nature of it be taught in schools from books on physiology.

Self-reliance is the most deadly gift which the female of this race can possess ; and yet girls are taught from their earliest years to be assertive of their opinions, insistent upon their rights, and clamorous for a consideration which can be given ungrudgingly only when it is least demanded. And so she goes through life with squared shoulders and set face, alert for any "insult to her womanhood." The American man, loving peace, desiring to be left to his employments and devices, pretends to acquiesce, and so leaves her in the enjoyment of the fool's paradise which she has created for herself. A militant woman is as futile as a militant church.

The boy who is accustomed to an atmosphere such as I have described knows no other law, since the impression received in boyhood continues to govern the man's estimate of the conduct proper for a woman. But the American boy who has

been sedulously taught by the spoken and printed word that the American girl is the highest product of civilization, a miracle of beauty, conduct, and character, does not for ever retain this illusion, — at least one out of twelve does not, after an intimate experience lasting 6.42 years, according to the best statistics available.

So amazing a statement demands authority. It is nothing less than the United States Census Bulletin : “The divorce-rate per 100,000 population increased from 29 in 1870 to 82 in 1905. In the former year there was one divorce for every 3,441 persons, and in the latter year one for every 1,218. Since it is only married people who can become divorced, a more significant divorce-rate is that which is based, not upon total population, but upon the total married population. The rate per 100,000 married population was 81 in the year 1870 and 200 in the year 1900. This comparison indicates that divorce is at present two and one half times as common, compared with married population, as it was forty years ago. A divorce-rate of 200 per 100,000 married population is equivalent to two per 1,000 married population. Assuming that 1,000 married people represent 500 married couples, it follows that in each year four married couples out of every 1,000 secure a di-

vorce. This does not mean that only four marriages out of 1,000 are terminated by divorce. The rate, it will be noted, is an annual rate, continuously operative, and comes far short of measuring the probability of ultimate divorce. The available data indicate, however, that not less than one marriage in 12 is ultimately terminated by divorce." From this loosening of the marriage tie it is women who eventually suffer. If divorce occasionally frees them from a cruel bondage, more often it makes men familiar with the idea of that last infamy, the desertion of the woman in her distress.

The root of the matter is that this brood of women is lawless — without law. The law is that the physically weak are subject to the physically strong. By no subterfuge, or evasion, or resort to simile, analogy, or hyperbole can weak be converted into strong. Things are as they are because the world of life has grown up under this law. The "American Woman" proclaims that by reason of her strength of intellect, her profundity of affection, her dazzling beauty, and the height of her emotion, she has emancipated herself. Even if she were in possession of all these qualities, — and that in itself is an assumption, — that would not involve her freedom. But the American man has

acquiesced in this declaration of rights, and the woman is without the shelter which her weakness gives.

There is a nice balance in nature. The strong and the weak exist side by side, because the weak know that they are weak and conduct themselves accordingly. They acquire a caution, a pretty cunning, an adaptability to their surroundings. They learn to evade what they cannot resist, to avoid what they cannot master, because they are aware that resistance is stupidity and means destruction. Let us take note of the fact that the man is not subject to the elephant, because the physical strength of the beast is outmatched by skill, knowledge, and intelligence. The qualities by which a woman attains to mastery are not those by which a man arrives at an understanding with an elephant. Her natural resources, those by which she will prevail, are gentleness, long-suffering, kindness; and it is no stain upon her intelligence to employ them. When she abandons these, she does not necessarily, in the present stage of civilization, lose her life. She merely becomes an "American Woman," and in striving for her "rights" she loses her influence, and gives us a new reading of the old fable of the bone and its shadow.

The world has never been in possession of more than five main ideas at any one time and is not now in possession of any more. These ideas came very early in the history of the race ; indeed they may have appeared at a time when there were in existence only one man and two women or two women and one man, since all society is merely an extension of these factors, and all literature a record of their behaviour.

All but one of these ideas came from the East. The only idea which we have originated is that a man who may know nothing about anything else knows all about government. These western communities have achieved much in the way of complicating existence by the utilization of natural forces, and have assumed that they were generating new ideas. But when finally they arrive at the limit of that accomplishment with which they are now most concerned, and men are enabled to fly through the air like a bird or a dragon, they may reflect upon the matter, and conclude that these contrivances have no meaning, the conclusion at which that amiable and amusing Preacher arrived, that this also is vanity, and that old fallacies are not new ideas.

To correct our taste in poetry, we have resort to the poets who made their verse when life was yet

simple, so simple that the suitors for the greatest heroine of all times lay upon the ground without her door, and cast scraps of food to their snarling dogs; when men were resolute to lose their lives for their country because they loved it so, and gloried in those achievements which saved their race from destruction; when, in short, the fear of the gods was strong upon them.

Similarly, to correct our view of life we must compare it with the view which it presented to men in an earlier and clearer medium, when they saw life naked, and recorded with truthfulness what they saw. Happily these records are open to our inspection in the writings of the Hellenes, and more clearly in those writings which are commonly called the Scriptures of that portion of the Semitic race which occupied Lower Asia. These Hebrews were especially concerned with conduct, as we are at the moment, since nearly all conduct — bad as well as good — is determined by the authority of the woman.

There have always been persons in the world who believed that these Scriptures were true: it is only during the lifetime of men now living that we have learned how true they are, — and that, by the simple discovery that the writers of

them were mainly concerned about this world, whilst formerly it was believed that they were speaking about another world, of which they had no more information than we ourselves enjoy.

A writer of whom it is assumed that he knows everything about everything eventually arrives at that point where it is assumed that he knows nothing about anything. These Hebrew writers made no such pretence, but it has taken us nearly twenty centuries to apprehend that they spoke in good faith, that some things they saw as if reflected darkly in a mirror, and others as arising naked out of human experience. We may be permitted to distrust the account which they give of the creation of the world and all that lives therein, and yet give full assent to the truth, awful in its simplicity, which is contained in such sentences as, a thousand years are but as one day; all is vanity; righteousness exalteth a nation; the woman who has a veil on her head wears authority on her head. It is this last saying which I am endeavouring to expound, because it is the one whose truth is the most obscurely hidden from this generation.

It is a common charge that the present status of women is due to the influence of Christianity. I do not think that this statement is entirely jus-

tified, but it will bear investigation. In the outset one must admit that the status of women in these Christian countries differs from that which prevails in Turkey and from that which did prevail in ancient Greece. The legal position of the woman is more assured in Turkey than in any other country. At marriage she receives a separate estate from her husband, and he has no future control over it. It remains with her even if she should be divorced, and she has the entire disposal by gift or by testament of all property acquired before marriage. She can sue her husband and be sued by him. He is obliged to maintain his wife according to his means. It is customary to state in the marriage settlement the amount which shall be allowed for household expenses, and the husband has no right to enquire into the details of the expenditure. It may well be understood that the practice of polygamy has fallen into desuetude, since no sensible Turk would willingly put himself at the legal mercy of more women than one.

An assured legal status does not necessarily confer domestic authority amongst ourselves. It is due to other circumstances entirely, probably the wearing of the veil and all which is implied thereby, that the Turkish woman exercises a

power in the household which to us would appear tyrannical. Her husband may not come into her presence without her consent. Her sons, though bearded men, may not sit down in her presence, without first seeking her permission. The younger women may not take their places at table until she is seated. And yet the news comes that even with all these rights and privileges the Turkish woman is not content. Hitherto she has been under no other obligation than to behave herself with decency; but since the events of July 24th, 1908, she is demanding her liberty, that is, the liberty of exchanging the bone for the shadow. The first thing the Turkish women did when the regulations were relaxed was to cast aside their veils and assemble in a public place to demand "the same rights and the same position as that which European women hold." The correspondent of the "Neues Wiener Tageblatt," who relates the occurrence, adds with mistaken glee that "the scene and the sight of the small, white hands sparkling with jewels and clapping with enthusiasm took him to Madison Square into a meeting of the free women of America."

From China also comes disturbing news which to some betokens augury of better things. Clubs have been formed under the pretext of opposing

the fashion of "little feet," but now the members proclaim themselves "women who intend to follow their own will." This movement towards "emancipation" appears to find favour in high quarters, for an Imperial edict has gone forth that "women ought not to pass their life in eating and gossiping."

We have seen that in Turkey the women possess both an assured legal position and domestic authority. In Hellas, however, they had domestic authority without the legal status. The Greek women had no rights, but were completely in the power of the men. They were extraordinarily meek; but, if we can believe what we read, never were women subjected to a rule so gentle and so gracious, and never were there women who appeared so perfect and so happy. Affection, regard, and deference was their portion. Whatever they did was right; if they appeared to do wrong, a man was to blame for enticing them or a god for afflicting them with madness. It was also regarded as a sign of madness that one should find fault with her husband, if we can trust the account which Sophocles puts into the mouth of Dejanira. For Helen herself, who brought so many disasters upon her race, there is no word of blame. Nor indeed is there much blame for Paris, — she was

so beautiful he could not help his rash conduct. Even against Clytemnestra, though a willing accomplice in the crime of murder, there is little of evil said. The Greek attitude, I believe, is in the main correct: whatever the woman is or does, it is the fault of the man. We who live in these days have no especial reason to be proud of our achievement; but we shall see what will happen to the women who in increasing numbers are now taking their management into their own hands.

The two great Greek poems are full of heroic affection and indeed are founded upon it. It was the meekness and submission of the women which created the heroism in the men. In order that there should be no difference of opinion it was decreed that the husband should appear to rule: "There is nothing better and nobler than when husband and wife, being of one mind, rule a household." Yet the influence of these meek women upon public affairs was greater than the influence of women at any time of which we have knowledge. Helen and Briseis are the central figures in the Trojan War; Penelope is easily greater than Ulysses; Arete is the great peace-maker; Clytemnestra and Chloris were queens in the absence of their husbands; and there is a saying attributed to

Themistocles: "All men rule their wives; we rule all men; and *we* are ruled by our wives."

There is nothing more beautiful in literature than the accounts which the great Greek writers give of the character, and conduct, and influence of these women who were without any legal status in the community. We must except, of course, some of the comic writers, who then, as now, are willing at any cost to raise a laugh from the gaping mouths of prurient men; but even Aristophanes boasts that he had never put a bad heroine in his plays, a practice which the modern novelist would do well to emulate. The greatness of the Athenians was due to the great simplicity of the Athenian woman: and "great is the glory of that woman who is least talked of among men, either in the way of praise or blame." They found their ideal in "the woman who stayed inside and was obedient to her husband." Consequently their sons were worthy of obedience, which ours are not.

But, more important, these Greek women appear to have been happy. Helen apparently was not especially miserable in Troy. She appears as an interested spectator on the walls of the beleaguered city; and after the death of Paris she returns to her husband, Menelaus, as if nothing

unusual had happened. But she was always busy, twirling the distaff and plying the loom. A princess did not disdain to make the clothing for her relatives, to embroider it beautifully, and keep it clean. That happy day which Nausicaa spent will readily recur to the mind. It must have been a busy day as she collected the clothes in the car and drove the mules, whip in hand, to the washing-trenches near the river ; as she with her maiden attendants sent the mules to grass whilst they trod the garments with their feet, and spread them out to dry. To this they added a picnic, a game of ball, and singing. Here is a day with Homeric girls, as Dr. Donaldson remarks with perhaps more unction than one would expect in the Principal of the University of St. Andrews.

To complete the demonstration that the present status of women is not due essentially to Christianity, we may cite the case of the Roman woman. I am not speaking, of course, of those women against whom Juvenal levelled his satire, but of those whom he employed as standards of true womanhood, if one must employ a phrase which has fallen from its high meaning. The Roman matron, unlike the Athenian, was mistress in the home, and was supreme in a domestic authority by which she enforced diligence and

reverence. The course of events was quite different in the two cities. In Athens the woman retrograded from a condition of voluntary captivity to one of domestic restraint. In Rome there was a progress from despotic control to domestic freedom achieved by the capacity and resolution of the women. Marriage became a contract and freedom was its essence. The father gave to his daughter a dowry which was ample for her support. Any other property which she possessed remained entirely within her control, even after the dissolution of the contract, an event which was happening continually. But this parade of learning merely enforces the truth that all women are much alike, and men too, for the matter of that, whether they be Pagans, Mussulmans, or Christians.

The present situation of women is a result not of Christianity, but of all those forces, industrial, economic, and social, which go to form what we call our civilization; and I suppose no one is so far left to himself as to affirm that the condition of society under which we live is a precise and logical result of the adoption of those principles which the Founder of Christianity enunciated. To demonstrate fully the truth of this assertion would be to write the history of civili-

zation and the history of Christianity, which is not the immediate intention.

In point of fact the position of the woman after four centuries of Christianity was more degraded than it was in the first. In the narrative of the Apostles there is much which is charming in the account which is given of her activities. The sisters of Bethany, the woman at the well, the bride and guests of Cana, the sinner with the box of ointment, even the women of the Garden were thoroughly humane persons, and the family life was sound. These were humble, decent people, however, and the greatest fallacy in history is to judge the conduct of the people of whom we know nothing by the conduct of those of whom we hear a great deal. To make such inference is as absurd, I say it with a reiteration which must be tiresome, as if we were to measure the life of the home-loving women of America by the standards which prevail in the heart of her whom I have chosen with some degree of ambiguity, it may be, to classify apart as the "American Woman."

On the other hand, the persons to whom the message came late in the first century were the offscouring of the Greek cities: adulterers, drunkards, and others who were guilty of practices which are not so much as named amongst ourselves. At

least this is the description which Paul gives of his early followers: "Such were some of you." To the Greeks religion was an affair of ritual. Henceforth it was to be a sanctification of the body, and unchastity, as being the most obvious of all lusts, was discredited. Horrified by the promiscuity of living which he witnessed, Paul went to the opposite extreme and put on the character of the rabbi, the monk, the ascetic. Besides, he was under the impression that the world was so near its end, it was not worth the trouble of adding to the race. There were already enough in jeopardy of their souls. He declared that there is something unclean in marriage; that marriage defiles both parties to it; that at best it is a compromise between chastity and the weakness of the flesh, better than one thing, worse than another, but that celibacy and virginity are best of all, for which he is not forgiven by women even to this day. It is not a matter of observation, in these days at least, that bachelors are spiritually minded above all men.

The Greek view of life led to immorality. Paul chose a different path; he ended by a clear perception of the conditions suitable for a healthy and faithful family life, in which the children at least should be holy; and yet one of the most pite-

ous things in history is the tragedy of domestic life disrupted by the entrance of a religion which compelled a brother to deliver up a brother to death, and the father his child, which set a man at variance with his father, the daughter against her mother and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law, and when a man's foes most to be feared were those of his own household. In face of this declaration we need not go to Tertullian to find that the event fell out no otherwise.

Though towards the end of his life Paul modified his earlier opinions, perhaps under the influence of those female fellow-labourers of whom he speaks so handsomely, by the fourth century they had regained full force in the Church, and one Father at least, Clement of Alexandria, is so downright in his utterances that they may well be left in the indecency of the original Latin in which they were written.

One could fill a book with the denunciations of women which are to be found in the writings of the Christian Fathers for five hundred years, and they are directed not against a limited class, nor against any particular misconduct, — as is the practice of all the satirists, — but against women as a whole. Much of it is vulgar abuse, and much is savage ferocity. Children shared equally in this

theological hatred, and in the first five centuries of Christian literature there is no suggestion of family life, of domestic felicity, in a word, of the home. Women and children were banished from the world of Christianity, and the inevitable result occurred. The theological male, unappeased by the female, and untouched by the appealing helplessness of the child, developed a ferocity of nature which showed itself eventually in the *auto-da-fé*, and which has been extinguished only in our own time. It is through the revival of natural, family affection, a virtue which is Pagan as well as Christian, that women have finally attained to equal consideration. When affection diminishes, that balance is disturbed.

The position of the woman in the early Church was a subject of bitter controversy, until it was set at rest by the great Apostle. Paul, himself an Oriental, though brought up in a Hellenic and Roman environment, was scandalized by the conduct of the Greek women in the assemblages. They would not keep quiet, neither would they speak one at a time. To allow the men to speak was out of the question. Accustomed to the seclusion and seemliness in which his own womenkind dwelt, he was offended by the shamelessness of the Greek costume, and he set forth that dogma

in which is contained one of those main ideas of which I was speaking: The woman who has a veil on her head wears authority on her head.

The East had meditated long upon the authority of the woman, and concluded that it was enhanced if it was allowed to remain mysterious. With all our pretensions to a chivalrous adoration of that quality which in the United States is called "womanhood," we do not yield to women such deference as is paid to the humblest Eastern peasant so long as she wears the veil. They suffer by not hearing the truth. For the sake of peace feeble men make it their business to console them; and as Dr. Trublet remarks in "*L'Histoire Comique*," how can you console a person without adopting the practice of lying? Not deference but flattery and fatuous adulation is the portion of the Western woman, because her authority is weakened, whilst the history of the East is filled with accounts, strange to us, of the influence of women upon men and events. The names of Herodias, Jezebel, and Eve will again recur to the mind.

The veil of the Eastern woman is a sign of her mystery. When she discards the veil, her sanctity, her honour, her dignity, her authority all vanish. I shall not be guilty of the absurdity

which there would be in recommending that women who of an afternoon drive in the Park or walk in the Avenue should swathe their heads in Oriental wrapping; but the light can be a veil as well as the darkness. In a brilliant room one sees nothing of the foulness which lurks without. Every woman is created with a veil. She is an eternal mystery, as even Byron confessed after his assiduous research. Gentleness, and goodness, and continual quietness, and beauty of nature are always mysterious. I am not saying that all women are in possession of these qualities. Indeed it is the very absence of them which makes the veil a greater necessity. The assemblage of boys with girls for education, as it is called with some degree of assumption, withdraws the veil and serves to dispel this mystery. The rude comradeship which athletics engender is based upon the performance of physical feats in which the woman is always at a disadvantage, and so is inferior.

Finally, those Platonic friendships between young men and young women, which, according to the judicious saying of the Master of Peterhouse, are always silly and sometimes dangerous, weaken the force of the old truth, that, male and female created he them. Little by little the mystery is dispelled — by a furtive glance, a word,

an apparently accidental touch. The veil is rent, and the woman is naked and ashamed, or unashamed, as the case may be.

A man expects very little of a woman, nothing more than that she shall willingly receive kindness at his hands, that she will permit herself to be loved. Little as this is, it is much. Without it he is condemned to a brutish isolation, wandering between the confines of asceticism and profligacy. Human civilization, which appears to our minds as a very imposing affair, is possibly the result of circumstances which may have been little more than fortuitous. It is surmised that agriculture had its beginnings in the desire for alcohol, and that the wearing of clothes was a result of the discovery that articles of adornment gave a sense of warmth. Similarly, I think that all the graces of our civilization, all those acquired characteristics which distinguished men from beasts, arose from the desire to win this privilege of bestowing affection.

It is not the love of the woman for the man, but the love of the man for everything, the woman included, which redeems him. This dark saying is elucidated by that revelation of human experience which has come down to us in the guise of the Faust legend, not the debased thing as presented

by Gounod, which we, with our capacity for being exactly wrong, call "Faust" and the Germans in derision designate "Margarethe." This "Faust" of ours, as Professor Patchett so acutely observes, is nothing more than the account of the seduction of an ingenuous girl by a rejuvenated professor having the powers of hell at his command. The Faust of Goethe attains to mastery over himself through the "ewig-weibliche," the eternal feminine, the woman-soul, which is synonymous with love into which the element of sex does not intrude itself. It is the complete abnegation of all selfishness. There is nothing new in this either: it is precisely the doctrine of perfect love which Jesus taught.

The "American Woman" thinks the American man is as good as he is because she loves him so much. She is so self-satisfied, she thinks that everyone must love her and must continue to love her, entirely irrespective of the conduct which she may choose to indulge in. A husband who should cease to love so glorious a creature must be a fool whose love is not worth striving to retain. She is fond of boasting of her womanly influence for good; and yet no public life is more corrupt than that which she dominates, no domestic life more thin, and narrow, and poor.

Men have always known wherein this authority lay and the power which it possessed ; but women have never been satisfied with the explanation which they received. They have been looking continually for a fresh solution of a problem which was solved before Solomon was yet born. They suspected that their authority lay in education, and they tried that ; in a new legal status, and enactments were made ; in admission to all trades and professions, and the doors were opened. The latest guess is that this authority will be permanently fixed by the right to put a piece of paper in a ballot-box ; and yet I fear that their experience will be that of the aged negro who had exercised this precious function for the first time. When the mysterious rite was completed and nothing happened, he turned to the guardian of the poll and enquired pathetically, " Is that all, boss ? "

The influence of woman is the subject of all verse, and is best expressed by the word " charm." The matter has full discussion in that debate which is recorded in the Book of Esdras as having taken place in the second year of the reign of Darius the King, at a time, it may be remarked, when our own ancestors were occupying their minds with less intellectual pursuits. The question was : " What is the greatest thing in the

world? — wine, the king, woman, or truth.” The argument is very familiar: “Do not men labour and toil and give and bring all to the woman? Yea, the man taketh his sword and goeth his way to rob and to steal, to sail upon the sea and upon rivers; and when he hath stolen, spoiled, and robbed, he bringeth it all to his love. What power hath reason against her charm?”

And what is charm? Certain things it is not. It is not excessive talkativeness, nor that distortion of the countenance in public places which is called laughter. Not intellectual attainment nor the artistic temperament ensures its possession. It does not necessarily lie in the physical beauty of a symmetrical musculature. Teeth, and eyes, and hair are mere epidermal modifications. Charm is everything which the “American Woman” thinks it is not; charm lies in what a woman is, not in what she does, nor in how she looks. I am not sufficiently instructed to hazard an opinion upon the question whether this charm is as general and as potent as it used to be, although there is some evidence which is not confirmatory in what one hears, and in what one reads in the law reports and in the poet-books. And what has a man to offer a woman in return for her adorable qualities? Nothing beyond this, that “the husband

render to the wife due benevolence." By no process of bargaining can she obtain more.

The American women — all women — should turn upon the "American Woman" as judges and executioners, with cold, deliberate indignation, in such virgin fury as the workers in the hive display towards the great, idle, sugary-mouthed drones unconscious on the melliferous walls. And happily, there is evidence that the people are tired of the farce, that the lights are out and the audience gone home. This revulsion of feeling is led by the really educated women, who are willing to confess that even they themselves have missed the mark and that their humbler sisters have chosen the better part. For the ignorant and newly rich the educated women have nothing but compassion: for those who would emancipate themselves from the law they have infinite scorn.

The woman who is happy is she who obeys the law of kindness, who goes quietly. Her husband yields her benevolence. His heart doth safely trust in her, and her children call her blessed. The woman who will prevail is the effeminate woman, who overcomes man by the force of continual quietness. She may understand all knowledge and have strength to remove all public grievances; yet she is nothing, if she has not entered

into the mystery of gentleness. The woman who suffers long and is kind, who envieth not, who vaunteth not herself and is not puffed up, who does not behave herself unseemly, who seeketh not her own, who thinketh no evil, beareth all things and is not easily provoked, — it is she who finally attains to consideration.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE SUF-
FRAGETTE

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE SUFFRAGETTE

FEW problems are so simple as they seem. Indeed all questions are one question, and the ready answer which appears final may be entirely inadequate when the enquiry is enlarged to its proper bounds. An imperfect reason is worse than no reason at all. If, for example, the function of voting has not, up to the present time, been entrusted to women, it is because the case in favour of that measure has not been properly presented.

The argument has been too feminine, too easily met. If we say that women should have the privilege of voting, we are struck with the retort that voting is not a privilege but a duty. If we point to the anomaly of a woman, intellectual as George Eliot and sensitive as Mrs. Browning, being deprived of a privilege which her husband's valet enjoys, the explanation is offered that the difficulty may be solved as well by taking the vote away from the man as by giving it to the woman.

When we protest that the suffrage should be conferred upon the married woman who in her

own right is in possession of property, we are informed that the family, not the individual, is the unit of society; and if we restrict our demand to votes for unmarried women alone, we involve ourselves in a controversy with the friends of Mrs. Browning, on the one hand, and of George Eliot, on the other, to say nothing of the members of that most ancient of all professions, who must be considerable property owners to pay the contributions which are habitually imposed upon them. If a property qualification would admit Judas, universal suffrage would admit the Woman at the Well; but the principle of votes for married women would involve us in a consideration of their matrimonial status, about which there might well be a difference of opinion, especially in a community like the United States of America, in which one marriage out of every twelve is terminated by divorce.

We plead that wage-earning women who are economically independent of men by reason of their labour in shop, office, and factory should no longer be compelled to remain voiceless: the dissentients reply that the presence of women in those capacities is an anomaly of civilization, which will not be remedied by the creation of a fresh anomaly. When we offer them one of these alter-

natives: If women are different from men, representative government without including them is incompletely representative of the State; If women are the same as men, then presumably they have the same need to vote as men, — they suggest that we substitute “lunatics” for “women” and see how the propositions read.

As answer to our argument that a woman who has acquired a University degree is more likely to vote intelligently than a man who is unable to decipher the name of a candidate upon the ballot and whose attainment in writing does not extend beyond the capacity to sign his name with a cross, we are informed with coarse brutality that the propriety of a college education for women is problematical and its advantage a matter of pure surmise. And finally, if we protest that character is the supreme test of fitness to vote or hold office, we are filled with apprehension against the day when the fierce light of publicity will beat upon the Woman at the Booth, when opposing newspapers will investigate her conduct to ascertain if she is truthful in her declarations before the Customs; for example, if she rules well her own household, having children and having them in subjection, the wife of one husband, of good behaviour, patient, not a brawler, not double-tongued, grave,

sober, faithful in all things. The feminine character is notoriously difficult of investigation, and it must be estimated according to the fine standard of feminine perfection, and not by the coarse attainment of the best of public men.

If we rely upon authority and appeal to John Stuart Mill, our opponents remind us that this great moralist attained to a surety of conviction upon the propriety of female suffrage only after he had come under the ministration of that humane person, Mrs. Taylor, "a woman of surpassing excellence, who lived generally apart from her husband."

When the enemies of woman suffrage have departed from this attitude of stolid indifference or obstinate contradiction and put forward initial objections of their own, we have always been able to make reply. They protest that the polling-booth, the legislative chamber, and the barber's shop are no fit resorts for women; and we call to their attention that women have made themselves perfectly at home in other environments which appeared at first sight to be equally uncongenial, in the club, in street-processions, and in the smoking-room of steamers.

Not content with contradiction, they have resort to mockery, alleging that, if women had votes,

they would cast them for the candidate who had a fine general aspect and an external appearance which was pleasing. It is our sufficient answer that candidates are elected by the present method for reasons which are equally flimsy, and that under the new arrangements a House of Representatives would be composed of men who would at least be beautiful, whereas to-day they are neither beautiful nor good. They charge that a man who has a wife and daughter would then have three votes instead of one; yet that is not more unreasonable than the present arrangement under which men purchase voters and send them to the polls like driven cattle. When mockery fails they descend to ridicule even of martyrs, laughter at heroines, and mirth, because a suffragette of her own volition assumed and continues to bear the name of Catt.

Having now at the expense of some labour cleared the ground, I shall endeavour to set forth the psychology of the suffragette, not in the interest of pure science so much as with the intention of discovering if an examination of the female nature will not yield a fundamental reason why such women as so desire should be permitted to vote, to hold office, and to engage in public life. To warrant so important a departure from the

established order of society, nothing less than a fundamental reason will suffice ; that is, one which has been valid ever since the advent of life upon the earth, or, at any rate, of beings which have the appearance of movement.

Of this creation we have two accounts. The one is given by a Semitic writer of Lower Asia, whose name is unknown to us. The other, which is the more commonly received, is closely identified with the name of Professor MacBride. The two accounts may be reconciled by assuming that the word "beginning" means a second beginning. By this easy device of exegesis we discover that in Professor MacBride's "beginning" there was neither male nor female, nothing but a neutral protoplasmic mass. In the second "beginning" there was a differentiation between the two sexes.

Leaving the ground of authority, and appealing to scientific experience, we shall discover that the male was developed out of this mass with special characteristics for the convenience of the less modified organism which remained. A timely confirmation of this statement arises out of Dr. Rumley Dawson's recent discovery in physiology, that the causation of sex lies entirely with the female ; and we can well understand why she should be so resolute to preserve the type which she has

created, by offering to the most manly the prize of her possession, and passing over the type which has the closest resemblance to her own.

And yet, it is only for convenience we assume that nature works within rigid bounds. We speak of spring, summer, autumn, and winter for the benefit of those who sow seed, pay rent, and perform the other duties of society, whereas in reality there are no recurring seasons, but an unending progress of time. This division of living beings into male and female is also a fiction. All we should say is that the characteristics of the male or of the female are especially predominant in any given individual. The truth of this statement is apparent if we scan the range of plant life; and even in the case of the lower animals it is only a little less obvious. That is a matter of common knowledge, but its cogency when applied to ourselves demands a word by way of illustration. There are persons who are anatomically males and psychically females, that is, with the outward appearance of men and the minds of women. They write letters to the newspapers, and the most experienced editor falls into error in determining the sex of the writer. These persons who lack in maleness always ally themselves with women who possess the quality in which they

are deficient, and between the two the proper complement is established.

On the other hand it is the residue of the male element in the female which strives to express itself by the assumption of manly garb, voice, gesture, and conduct; though it is much easier for a man to become a woman than it is for a woman to become a man. In each there is something of the other, but what that amount is in any one individual could be determined only by a close scrutiny and comparison with the results obtained in a large number of observed cases. Certain investigations demand minuteness of enquiry, others, largeness of view. One might well write a monograph upon the camel, the ostrich, or the centaur based upon the results of a scientific examination of a few specimens, which up to a certain point would be quite complete and have great value. This is the work of the anatomist in zoology, or of the morphologist in botany, who considers the lily in his laboratory rather than in the field. The anthropologist who deals with mankind in the mass, or the systemic botanist must not taunt his fellow-investigator with want of experience in his own peculiar department, who is debarred by lack of facilities or even of inclination from making large numerical observations.

The male is what horticulturists designate as a sport, with an ineradicable tendency to revert to the female type, which is the more stable of the two, less sensitive and therefore capable of enduring discomfort, less intelligent and therefore guided more by instinct than by reason, less troubled by those emotions which lead to self-sacrifice for the good of the whole, more enduring because less dominated by those principles which are known as morality. Every civilization which has passed away proceeded by the road to effeminacy. That is the teaching of history, and it is a matter of common observation in the individual who is becoming less virile. He forsakes his fellows for the companionship of a woman. He displays an extreme and foolish fondness, an extravagant and servile devotion, which goes by the name of uxoriousness. The phenomenon is observed at every age, but is most common in the extremes of life. We have all observed the young husband who is blissfully content with the functions of a lady's maid, and the old man whose domestic duties are mainly those of a "hooker up," as that humble office is technically called. In his occasional intercourse with men he misses the adulation to which he is accustomed, and becomes at first dogmatic, then truculent, and

finally by common consent is expelled from male society.

The disturbance of this balance between the sexes is more exaggerated in certain periods of history than in others. It was most marked at those stages of civilization in which the matriarchal theory of government prevailed. This occurred at a time when humanity was emerging from savagery, when the chase as a means of livelihood was giving way to agricultural pursuits and the domestication of animals, when articles of adornment had fallen from their high purpose and bred the debasing necessity for the warmth and comfort of clothing. These three offices of caring for animals, planting seeds, and making clothes naturally fell to women. The calf, lamb, or kid, an accidental product of the chase, was brought home to the cave as an object of interest. Its gambols of joy or its contortions in pain were amusing to the women and children, and its life was preserved as a solace from the tedium of winter. From this it was an easy discovery that the animal might reproduce its kind and afford, by the food products which it yielded, sustenance in time of need, and warmth after its body was skinned and eaten. By an equally fortuitous circumstance the advantages of a stable supply

of fruits from the earth must have been discovered. The labour of the chase, which began as a sport and ended as a necessity, became a piece of sport again, to which the man might devote himself with pleasure unalloyed by the fear of hunger. But even a life of pure sport eventually palls upon one, and the primitive man lapsed into a condition of idleness in which he was so inert that women were obliged to undertake the business of government as well as of industry. They dominated the religious system also; and the deities of that period are always female. From this we may deduce the law that the authority of the woman prevails in direct proportion to her usefulness.

Men who are idle become debased. They forsake the quest of their hard ideal and turn aside upon an easier way. By inertia alone they tend to exaggerate the female element in themselves and to become like women. This glorification of the feminine finds its most modern expression in the tenets of that new American sect set apart by a woman, which contends that its founder has interpreted the feminine idea of God as Jesus interpreted the masculine idea. To this is added the inconsequential corollary that the feminine is the higher of the two; and there is an illuminating revelation of a somewhat general mind upon the

question of motherhood in their theory that this woman by a process of immaculate conception brought forth a book. As if anticipating the question, her great apologist admits, "You may ask why this child did not come in human form as did the Child of old," and he supplies the answer: "Because it was not necessary." Out of a plain New England woman they have made a great wonder in heaven, a woman clothed with the sun, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars, delivering the child which shall heal all nations. At least that is how it appears in their own writings and painted windows. This sentiment is a pure revival of paganism and recurs continually. It brought the worship of the woman into the Church during the renaissance which occurred in the fifteenth century, when the deity was expressed by the term *Dea*. One may agree that women are saints, and yet have a hesitancy of conviction that they are gods.

Women have a sure instinct that this natural tendency of men to exaggerate the feminine idea and to become like women is perilous to the race. It is women alone who prevent it from dominating the world, on account of their own inherent distrust in it. This is well shown by the secret pity which a woman entertains for a man who is about

to unite himself for life with one of her own sex. A woman marries for the substantial reason that she is enamoured of the institution of marriage: a man marries because a certain personality is attractive to him. If he would discover how flimsy this reason appears to the woman who is the object of attraction, he has only to hear the comments which are made as she regales her friends with a revelation of his mind as exposed in those writings which are commonly known as "love-letters" and occasionally as "exhibits."

If, now, we can discover that the exercise by women of the function of voting will tend to preserve the male idea from merging into the feminine, the case in favour of female suffrage will be advanced, even if we are obliged to abandon the ground upon which the measure has been defended, namely, that it would make for efficiency of government and do something to remove the disabilities which women as well as men now endure. Suffragettes have come to believe that there is something thaumaturgic or at least sacramentary in the act of voting, that it has an inherent efficacy and would confer upon public life an inward and spiritual grace, whilst in reality it is merely an ordinance without sanctity, an outward and visible sign of something which may have no

existence, and may be fraught with damnation to those who perform it unworthily.

Voting is merely a method of expressing an opinion. The result is good or bad, depending upon the correctness of the opinions which the voters entertain and their ability to enforce them. The method has worked well in certain cases, namely, those in which communities had discovered the true principles of public policy by long ages of experience in public affairs, by living a life of freedom, resolute to maintain it even at the cost of sacrificing the individual life. Certain tribes from the shores of the North Sea which afterwards developed into the Anglo-Saxon race earned their freedom by remaining free. Every man voted. The reeve with four men from each township appeared at the hundred-mot to enforce an opinion which was in reality a derivative from the need and art of fighting. Other communities seized this weapon without paying the price and it broke in their hands. The negroes of the United States had the duty of voting thrust upon them; and one would be naïve indeed who should say that their condition was improved thereby, or that they brought any great accession of wisdom to the public councils. I am afraid that the women who profess to believe that all

things will be made new by the easy device of voting are following their senses under the delusion that they are following the inexorable logic of a long experience.

It is only those who are engaged in practical politics who are aware how small a part voting plays in the operation of government, and they have devised an elaborate machinery to prevent an expression of public opinion, or to thwart it in the event of its getting out of hand. Many women are sufficiently instructed in cynicism to unmask the most plausible politician ; but women of simplicity, having faith in all humanity, would become unconscious dupes of the wily intriguer, or willing victims of the honest reformer who is himself deceived. Even if women were in possession of a correct theory of government, which in itself is merely a matter of surmise, and were resolved to lay aside all considerations of personal interest for the sake of giving true expression to it, they would yet be face to face with those contrivances which exist for the purpose of dulling the conscience and paralyzing the public will. Men who are enthusiastic reformers of politics continually encounter the influence of the under-world intriguer, the briber, the organizer of self-interest ; and it is entirely probable that

in the new order women might be found who would lend themselves for these base purposes, if we can infer from the ease with which recruits are obtained for purposes which are baser still.

Suffragettes are mistaken if they suppose that their labour is ended when they pause in the weary round of visits to dressmaker, manicure, and masseuse, or interrupt their social and domestic duties, for so much time as is required to place a dainty ballot in a box. When they adventure into the booth they plunge into the world of politics and of crime, unaware that their innocent act may be the means of depriving a rich corporation of its booty, a poor man of his food, a worker of the right to live, a woman of her profession, or a criminal of his prey. They must not expect that, upon beholding the spectacle of a suffragette about to vote, all these forces of self-interest and of evil will run backward and fall to the ground as dead men.

It is not the act of voting which emancipates a people. They qualify themselves for voting by remaining free. The negroes to whom I have referred will be worthy to vote only when they emancipate themselves from themselves. Their political equality was thrust upon them, and it has not done them much good. They were unable

to acquire freedom : they are unfit to exercise the functions of free men. The immediate business to which all suffragettes should address themselves is to assist in this investigation of their own minds, to ascertain if they really do desire freedom and are competent to achieve it, if indeed they desire it so earnestly that they must needs seize upon it without saying "by your leave," and at one stroke emancipate themselves from their own nature and from the restrictions which from the beginning of time have been imposed upon them by reason of the possession of that nature.

All literature concerns itself with this investigation of the nature of humanity, or rather the soul of it, if one may risk the employment of so ambiguous a word ; and, according to Browning, little else is worth study save the development of a soul. The consensus that an examination of the soul of the female is an impolite, ungracious, or impertinent act is a suggestion that she has none, or at best, that she has one which does not merit or will not endure such scrutiny. The process can be carried on with entire impersonality, as men investigate their own nature, and even if it lead to self-depreciation, that also is good. The "capability and god-like reason" of the male is not the

theme of "Hamlet," but rather an amplification of the question and answer: "What is a man? If his chief good and market of his time be but to sleep and feed, — a beast, no more, a beast, the lord of beasts." And if in the nature of women are found traces of the primitive woman, that need not alarm them or us, though it may dispel certain illusions to make way for fresh illusions founded upon reality.

Men are quite free to confess that they have not eradicated the savage instincts from their hearts, that traces of the primitive man are ever present with them, and they do not hesitate to make open revelation of it in their stupid brutality, in the joy with which they eat their food, in their poor attempts at the decoration of their persons by means of green hats and coloured waistcoats, in their pitiable efforts to look fierce by an arrangement of the vestige of hair which yet survives, in the alacrity with which they imbibe intoxicants for the sake of casting off that burden of morality which they have so painfully acquired and which yet sits uneasily upon them. But a woman, living in the minds of others, careful not of what she is but of the impression which she makes, is as anxious to conceal her identity as she is to disguise the art of her adornment.

To get at the root of the matter, we must understand the essential character of the feminine nature, and if we discover that it is good, neutral, or bad, we must remember that man has made it so. The praise or blame is to us. Therefore we are in reality investigating ourselves. There is a German saying: From a woman you can learn nothing of a woman. As Immanuel Kant explains it: woman does not betray her secret. And yet, the only secret which is well kept is that which is no secret at all. Possibly this is the reason why women and Freemasons have been so successful in guarding theirs. The revelation which women in their writings make of themselves is incomplete because they are incapable of that intellectual effort by which complete detachment is obtained. All the "Confessions" have been done by men, St. Augustine, Montaigne, Pepys, Rousseau, Amiel, and by those immodest writers of the past ten years whose confessions are so tiresome because they have so little to confess, and therefore experience none of that reminiscitory pleasure which makes the confessional so popular.

It was a reflection of Joseph de Maistre: "I do not know what the heart of a rascal may be; I know what is in the heart of an honest man:

it is horrible." Only a man is capable of making this true reflection and of confessing not alone faults which do not dishonour, but secrets which are ridiculous and mortal sins which are without extenuation. One may well believe that Chateaubriand in his "*Mémoires d'Outre-tombe*," Lamartine in his "*Confidences*," Renan in his "*Souvenirs*," even without being consciously insincere or lacking in veracity, refrained from mentioning those cruelly painful reminiscences with which Rousseau scourged himself; but one is considered simple-minded indeed who believes that George Sand tells us as much as she can remember in "*L'Histoire de ma Vie*." This charge which Mr. Jules Lemaître brings against George Sand finds its explanation in the fact that women really do forget. A man will deliberately revive the remembrance of past sins for his present amendment, and evil being turned into good, the sin is forgiven. A woman forgets an act of meanness because it made no impression upon her mind when she committed it. She does not understand the nature of it. She forgives an act of meanness which a woman commits against her because they understand each other so well.

To arrive at an apprehension of this condition of non-morality, we must go back to the

beginning of created beings, when the problems of physiology were reduced to their simplest forms, and the problems of psychology and ethics had not yet made their appearance ; when the presence of life was revealed only by the appearance of movement. As we see the living being in its lowest form, it merely moves, eats, grows, reproduces itself, and dies. It is contractile, irritable, receptive, assimilative, metabolic, secretory, respiratory, and reproductive, as the books on science say. This seems a great deal, but in reality it is very little, for it does not differentiate an amœba from a man.

The evolution of the animal kingdom began with the acquirement of the first rudiments of a morality. The original amœba was content to await until its food arrived in a faint swirl of water. We can well imagine that, by some circumstance which was apparently fortuitous but in reality due to the operation of the law of gravity and of those principles which underlie the distribution of air, the food was brought in unusual quantity or at an unnecessary moment. The creature, being already surfeited, was quite willing that the nutriment should go to a rival. The satisfaction which was experienced as a result of comfortable physical distention was attributed to

an act of self-abnegation, and so the foundation of morality was laid.

This illustration may be made more obvious, and perhaps less absurd, if we consider the situation of the savage reclining before the fire with his family in the sanctity of his cave after a successful day's chase, and a surfeit upon the rude but efficient cookery of those days. We shall not be wrong if we surmise that an emotion of gratitude might arise in his breast towards the giver of so much good and of commiseration of a less fortunate neighbour. This laudable sentiment might induce him to share the food which was yet uneaten, especially if — not to credit him with too high and disinterested a morality — he recalled that on previous occasions his surplus store had perished by decay. Certainly he would not feel disposed to interfere with his neighbour's chase, and so the principles of justice would be established. It is not improbable that his neighbour at some future time would do as he had been done by, and accordingly the growth of morality and the bonds of amity would be strengthened. In due course game laws would make their appearance, and out of that would arise a system of jurisprudence to cover the various problems which must have faced a growing, though simple, civilization.

If now it be true that morality had its origin in the mental and physical activities attendant upon the procuring of food, and since these activities were exercised chiefly by the male, it follows that the female who was not brought under the influence of a favourable environment would remain non-moral. She did not come in contact with the world, as the saying is, and continued unlearned, wanting the hard lesson of experience. Something of a similar nature is still witnessed in the case of those clerics who deal habitually with women, of schoolmasters and professors whose world is merely that which is encountered within the walls of a class-room, and of writers whose observation does not extend beyond their closets. The characteristics of the feminine nature are found in them. They are considered virtuous because the problems of morality have never presented themselves.

Shut out from the world, the primitive woman was not free to develop an independent life. She adapted herself to the man. His views were her views ; his dislikes were shared by her, and she adopted his opinions ready-made. She preferred to be dependent, and agreed that the man should continue to mould her mentality. This destruction of her personality and departure from her line of

life became so permanent that she enjoyed it. Her sense of personal value was lost. It was found in external things, her beauty, her adornment, her children, or her husband. This lightness of regard for their own personality still persists, as we may see in the readiness with which a woman exchanges her own name for another, not once, but under certain circumstances — after a period of half-luxurious sorrow and self-conscious demureness — twice, or yet again, and each time with the greater alacrity. Without freedom there can be no free will, and without free will there can be no character.

The primitive man in the contest with his environment developed an ethic, a logic, and a morality, because he was free. Deprived of freedom, the primitive woman remained servile in disposition ; tyrannical when occasion offered, because the servant ever makes the worst master ; unjust, since she was protected against the penalty of injustice ; unsympathetic and heartless, because there was no occasion for a wide and disinterested charity ; mindless, because there was another to think for her. Trained to accept the convention which the man imposed upon her, she easily submitted to the conventions devised by her own sex, and became imitative even in the clothes which

she wore, in the method of adornment which she adopted, in the sentiments which she entertained, and in the opinions which she expressed. In time, however, she adapted herself to her environment, and developed a kind of ethic of her own, which was entirely adequate for the circumstances in which she was placed, but breaks down hopelessly in a wider sphere of activity.

As if it were not enough that the woman was deprived of these incentives to the acquisition of a morality, she was made the victim of man's unconscious egoism and his conscious duplicity. Men in common with other males are subject at times to a curious psychical and physical condition which is familiarly known as "being in love." The first symptom of this mental disorder is an entire incapacity to perceive the truth. He creates an ideal woman, the woman of poetry and other romantic writings. He attributes to her, or rather projects into the ideal, his own qualities of truthfulness, modesty, justice, charity, sympathy, fortitude, and beauty. To employ the jargon of the theologians, this ideal woman is anthropomorphic. A man who is in love with a woman is really in love with himself, but neither the one nor the other is aware of the fact. He begins by deceiving himself and ends by deceiving her, for a time at

least, and her future life consists in the employment of every resource to encourage and maintain the fiction. It is not the real woman whom he loves, but a spurious personality. To succeed in retaining this love, she is obliged to live the life of the image which he has created, and ends by destroying her inner self. And yet, under present conditions, that woman succeeds best who is most successful in maintaining this illusion in the minds of both.

This practice of loving and believing a lie is, I suspect, the *fons et origo* of all that is evil in our civilization. Few men and no women are free from the vice. Even the intelligent fall into the easy habit. In an important city the editing of a newspaper was entrusted to ten of the most righteous women to be found therein, and yet they assigned the prize which had been offered for the best expression of appreciation of their labours to a man who affirmed that their literary product would overwhelm the city "with a deluge of sweetness and light." The second prize went to a woman who predicted that much good would be effected "by their wisdom, their wit, and their might."

And this leads one to the observation that nearly all writing is an endeavour to minister to

this desire for self-deception. Comparatively few men who have attained to the great age of forty years indulge in the pastime of reading. Their experience has taught them that the motive of nearly all writing is the desire for notoriety, either in this life or in the minds of those who are to come. They are wise enough to write their own books; but being wise, they abstain. They regard it as a delusion that all who are capable of reading are also capable of writing. As well might a man believe that he had a peculiar aptitude for herding sheep and playing the bagpipes, because he was born in the Highlands of Scotland. This desire of women to be deceived accounts for that insincere writing which is found in nearly all novels, and in all of those she-papers which fatten upon their credulity. Reading, then, becomes a vapid and frivolous amusement for dazing the mind, and a book no better than a lap-dog.

Nor does art thrive any better than literature in this atmosphere of feminism. Art has to do with the beauty of utility, of truth. A woman learns by instinct, possibly by experience, that personal beauty does not imply morality, and as it is with her own personality she is most concerned, a secret distrust in all beauty, even the beauty of art, is instilled into her mind. Accord-

ingly the pictures which are painted to please her must have a superficial prettiness, and the houses which are erected for her use will best serve her purpose if, instead of simplicity, they display a decorated cosiness and have sufficient cupboards for the accommodation of her cast-off finery.

The superfluous top-hamper of civilization, which makes living difficult for the rich and impossible for the poor, continues to burden humanity because women will have it so. A world of iniquity is created out of their desire for change. It is not love of beauty which suddenly reveals to a woman that last year's adornment is hideous, but the desire to change one form of ugliness for another. If she possessed that sense of beauty which comes from sincerity, and that in turn from freedom, she would once and for all agree upon some practice of adornment combined with utility, which would have a reasonable degree of permanency, rather than submit to the tyranny of an organized band of mercenaries, who exist for the purpose of exploiting her femininity. This passion in women for splendid apparel arises from their suspicion that they are not in reality beautiful, but have only been told so by men whose senses they suspect are dulled by passion.

The value of the exercise of the suffrage by a woman is that it will serve to emancipate her from herself in so far as it emancipates her from men. In the present state of affairs, which is based on the Oriental conception that a woman is a chattel, a private possession, born to serve and be dependent upon man, she has no complete existence in herself. She obtains the sense of full existence only through her husband and children, just as the Mussulman woman attains to the chief desire of her heart if she is chosen to give a son to the Pattissah. She stands ready to be made wife or mother, that she may acquire that gift; and her love is the mental sense of satisfaction that she is about to be redeemed.

Looked at narrowly, this attempt on the part of women to emancipate themselves would appear to be nothing more than the expression of a desire to enlarge the range of their caprice, for which not even marriage, the old and sovereign remedy, is any longer efficacious. In reality the reason lies much deeper. It is a blind striving for the pure air of freedom, for escape from a bondage in which only the qualities of the servile have had room for development. Until women cease to believe the pretty lies which men tell them, that they are only a little lower than

the angels, and discover the real bondage, their own nature, from which they must emancipate themselves, they will not proceed with any degree of seriousness. They will not convince the world until they themselves are convinced. Analysis they consider detraction, and fly from investigation in wild alarm. Upon this subject there is a considerable body of information in the writings of satirists, dramatists, and theologians, ancient and modern; but it is decried as slander, whether uttered by St. Paul, Origen, Clement of Alexandria, or Otto Weininger.

This violent effort to attain to freedom is bound to be associated with a form of disorderliness which the common mind describes as hysterical. All disorder in itself is bad. It is intolerable only when it is meaningless. It is decried because it is misunderstood. Any consideration of the mind of the suffragette would be quite inadequate without some mention of those complex manifestations which are known as hysteria. Of this too I shall offer an explanation in support of my argument. It is a sign of the striving after a higher morality, of an attempt to "convert nothing into something," to put on a new nature, to acquire personality, distinction, character, and mind. Up to a certain point the woman accepts

her femininity and all that is implied thereby with unquestioning obedience, taking it at its masculine value. In the absence of an external controlling influence there comes a divine discontent with that negative condition of existence, and she becomes imbued with moral ideas which are foreign to her normal mind and opposed to her real nature. In reality she puts on a superficial, sham self, and yet is incapable of perceiving the spuriousness of it. This new personality shows itself in self-confidence, independence, assertiveness, a punctilious sincerity, and painful candour in speech and action. This artificial imitation of the masculine morality with which she has overlaid her femininity, at the touch of some rough reality flies in pieces, and the conflict between her real nature and this unnatural self produces those phenomena which are known as hysteria. It is a contest between what she knows to be true and what she suspects is false.

A woman in this condition is a piteous and degrading spectacle, exposing her femininity naked yet unashamed, and revealing the whole record of development in its continuous progress through those stages which we designate as plant, beast, and savage life. To the psychologist the phenomenon is full of interest and fruitful of instruction,

but it recalls the fearful image conjured up by the words :

“ And Satan yawning on his brazen seat,
Toys with the screaming thing his fiends have flayed.”

This demand for the suffrage is in reality an attempt to arrive at a higher morality, to attain to consideration in virtue of goodness and not of charm. The real opponents are the women who master men by that easy device, and all men who find it so comfortable to succumb, because they find it so alluring. There is an active and a passive conspiracy working to the same end that women shall not be free. There is no creature in the world who is so irritating to the woman who is merely good as the woman who is merely charming, and therefore in a condition of negative morality. The most efficient means to destroy the force of any charm is to investigate its origin, a task to which those who are striving for emancipation would do well to apply themselves. It is not enough that they have relinquished this quality in themselves. They can succeed only when they have removed its possession from others.

The struggle for freedom from their own nature will not be easy. The habits acquired during countless ages are all but ineradicable ; yet pro-

gress may appear in the exchange of one bondage for another. One would say that the noble army of martyrs who have attacked the inner sanctuary of the British Constitution had emancipated themselves from every restraint and destroyed the last attraction between themselves and living men; and yet their next act was to bind themselves with physical chains to those stone images of male humanity which stand in the Hall of St. Stephen. This thing is an allegory.

I am not blind to certain perils which lie in the way; but I think they have been exaggerated and will tend to cure themselves. Voting implies being voted for, and men are so fatuous that they will vote for the woman who has a pleasing personality and skill in the adornment of her person, rather than for a candidate of commanding intellect and skill in the public use of her tongue. Then will arise another noble band of martyrs after the discovery of how little men's votes for women are influenced by reason and how much by charm. They will declare that men shall no longer have the opportunity of being silly, and they will banish their charming sisters from public life.

There is nothing which a man who is left to himself desires so ardently as he desires the feminine. To attain to it he will commit the last in-

famy, descending to the level of the beast from which he has arisen, even whilst he despises himself for the surrender of that morality which he has so laboriously acquired. This interdependence of good and evil constitutes the riddle of the universe; and yet it is out of this conflict between the lower and the higher that our civilization, as we know it, has arisen. The woman exercises her power by means of a charm, by which she allures and then captivates. The "fountain" of this charm is love, and its essence "pleasant to the eyes" like that fruit which first attracted the Universal Dame herself.

If the power of this charm were unchecked, it would re-absorb the masculine idea into the feminine, so earnestly is it desired by men. It is the business of women to see to it that this charm is exercised with due restraint. Every child knows that a charm is broken by speech, and if the injunction *taceat mulier* were observed, the masculine would be delivered into an eternal bondage. If all women at all times behaved themselves in accordance with the principles of the eternal feminine, which are those of appearance and beauty, men would become so enamoured of it that they would mould their lives by it and eventually transform themselves into women.

Compare the power of the woman who sits, and looks, and exercises her charm in silence and mystery with her who says an inane thing three times over with the intention of being interesting and vivacious, or a foolish thing rather than remain silent; with her who votes and speaks in the councils, even though she speak with the tongue of a man and reveal all knowledge; with her who brawls in public places, and even gives her body to the Holloway gaol, and we shall discover the essential reason why women should be encouraged to do these things, namely, that they shall be induced to tell the truth about themselves and so liberate men in some degree from the power of their charm, that reason may govern life.

The women who are not satisfied with the status of wife and mother and are striving to educate themselves into fitting "companions" for their husbands and sons by attending lectures and reading magazines are unaware of the power of this charm, and are suffering from an exaggerated notion of the kind of companionship for which men are capable. They magnify the masculine intelligence unduly. What a piece of work is a man! they exclaim in rhapsody, how noble in reason, how infinite in faculty, in form and moving how express and admirable, in action how like an

angel, in apprehension how like a god, the beauty of the world! In reality this "paragon of animals" desires a woman more ardently than he desires a talking book, agreeing, if he is sensible, with that eminent divine, John Calvin, when he declared, "The only beauty that can please my heart is one that is gentle, chaste, modest, economical, patient, and finally, careful of her husband's health."

The real grievance from which women suffer is that their authority and claim to consideration is based upon a principle which is non-ethical and of no inherent value in their eyes. Their way of escape lies in convincing men that they also should arrive at a like estimate of its fallibility. This can best be done by setting up truth in opposition to falsehood, which is the most subtle method of iconoclasm, the most powerful for breaking down an eidolon in which the affections are inordinately fixed, since the deity and the devotee can then make mutual inferences. To keep the matter scientific and impersonal, they might begin by an investigation into the nature of the troglodytic woman, disclosing her characteristics, assigning them to their proper cause, and estimating what proportion still remains. The opinion requires corroboration that women have been more successful

than men in purging away those qualities which were inherent in the primitive nature. Indeed to the most careful observer there is some evidence that jealousy has not entirely given way to justice, heartlessness to charity, pride to dignity, shamelessness to modesty, selfishness to sympathy, and the desire of provoking compassion to a self-reliant fortitude.

This investigation might properly be undertaken by the various Councils of Women, even at the risk of excluding those subjects upon which they possess no especial information, such as the effect of narcotics and intoxicants upon the masculine frame. A frank pronouncement from this high quarter would be free from the taunt that it was merely slander, diatribe, or vituperation. To make the enquiry sufficiently extensive, it might be well to appoint a committee of men to prepare an *agendum* for the meeting, a labour in which I would willingly bear a part, having a desire for specific information upon certain points, namely: why up to a certain age a younger sister dislikes the elder, and between certain ages a mother is averse to her daughter; why the law of modesty in apparel is not constant at nine o'clock in the evening and nine o'clock in the morning; why it is painful for a woman to witness another advancing

in social status ; why female beauty and an adornment which heightens it does not excite an emotion of universal pleasure ; why women make good nurses, if it is not because they are lacking in sympathy.

For women, then, there are two lines of conduct open, and only two. Either they must remain within the cave, as "sisters to the flowers," in an environment suitable for the development of such qualities as may be developed from the essentially feminine nature, an easy docility, a pleasurable obedience, meekness, forbearance, long-suffering, patience, silence ; as objects upon which men may lavish protection, kindness, benevolence, affection, and so stimulate their own masculine morality, and redeem themselves in virtue of the love which is created thereby : or they must aspire to a perfect freedom ; casting aside the curb of sex and freeing themselves from the tyranny of kith and kin, they must come out into the world and remain out in the full glare of the sun, ruthlessly exposing their nature to the rough environment whereby its imperfections will be scourged and chastened away. Possibly that nature might perish in the process before a new one was created, and in any event it might be nothing more than a close approximation to the male.

There is no middle station, half in and half out, exposing the evil and doing nothing for its amendment. This tentative standing-ground merely permits of a sudden release of the nature of the primitive woman in all its nakedness unchecked from within and uncontrolled from without. The spectacle is so revolting, I fear, that most women would turn back with grief and hatred of it to their old rule, rather than strive with a full purpose and endeavour after a new obedience. That is the essential difficulty with which those women have to contend, who would lead their sisters out of bondage. Their real enemies are of their own household, who hate to see this revelation that women make of themselves, which affords to vulgar satirists congenial exercise of their irony and scoff, for the torment or amusement of those who, like themselves, by continually regarding humanity as it is, have developed a capacity for analysis at the expense of a certain dryness and hardness of heart.

These satirists smile and whisper in our ear that the emancipation of women is intended only to enlarge the bounds of their caprice; that their performance is of no immediate interest to the man, and only of very remote benefit to the woman; that, when he grows tired of the farce, he will cast her out of the cave and leave her to

her own device as he was left in the day of his creation. From this they conclude that a race which allows itself to be brought to such an impasse is not worth reproducing, and we cannot blame them too severely. It is on account of their perception of this fact that the women of primitive communities deal faithfully with their unruly sisters lest a worse thing befall themselves. There is a choice between the good and the best as there is between the evil and the good; and women must find in freedom compensation for having cast out the imputed sacredness from their lives; and, in watching the gyrations of their souls, some recompense for that calm leisure in which they were wont to dream.

This then is the end of the argument in favour of the suffragette, which is developed out of her own psychology. Women have obtained their places in the world because they are desired by men on grounds which are not of the highest ethical quality; but these are the only grounds upon which men will consent to endure the burden of carrying on a society, about whose invention they were not consulted. We are now — men and women, not as opponents but as companions in a misery which we should do our best to assuage by mutual help — face to face with the real problem:

Shall we allow the evil to endure, or even suffer the good to remain as the enemy of the best, saying with the sluggard, a little more sleep, a little more slumber; or shall we strive after the higher morality, even losing our life that we may save it?

It is no bar to the argument that it faces the extinction of the species to which we belong. In a question of morality consequences do not count. We did not create ourselves. The responsibility of ceasing to exist does not rest upon us. It is in reality a question of conduct, and upon that we can always get information if we enquire of Him whose genius for right living was such that a large proportion of mankind have agreed upon Him as the chief exemplar and pattern of pure righteousness. The problem presented itself to Him. He answered it in specific terms. Three times and in separate places are the question and answer recorded in words which are almost identical: What good thing shall I do that I may inherit eternal life; what lack I yet? What shall I do that I may inherit eternal life? What shall I do to inherit eternal life? To convince us that the answer is not one of special application, the question is repeated thrice in general terms and so recorded: Who then can be saved? Who then can be saved? Who then can be saved? The answer invariably

is that those who would inherit everlasting life must first forsake certain things which are specifically set forth, and the enumeration ends in all cases with "woman." One is quite prepared to be told that Paul was ill-informed or ill-natured, when he declared that even the intimacy with a woman which is implied by marriage is a drag in the attempt after a higher life, and yet protest, in face of that exegetic feat which attributes the insertion of the fatal word to a monkish hand, that Jesus really meant something when he said that she must be forsaken.

All things are working toward this divine end by making it easy to forsake the woman. As that kind of intelligence is developed by higher education, as it is called with a certain degree of assumption, which consists in an increased capacity for the recollection of unrelated statements, a measure of value is created which men can understand. They are dealing in their own currency. Pedantry they have already witnessed, and the instructed woman is even less adorable than a professor. An imitation of the garb which is customary in the male at once suggests the form which it is intended to conceal and a comparison with the standards of abstract beauty. When women place themselves in situations for which

they are not qualified by their nature to fill with obvious advantage they become a ridiculous caricature of themselves. The mind of the suffragette appears to possess a peculiar aptitude for that absurdity which makes a man impatient and finally contemptuous of all femininity, and resolute to adhere to his own ideal. A woman may be foolish and yet be charming. She emancipates herself when she becomes an object of aversion.

THE FALLACY IN EDUCATION

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I

CONTRARY to the practice of the best essayists, which is to begin as far away from their subject as possible and come near it only occasionally, I shall at once set forth in plain terms what I conceive to be the fallacy in education: that the information which a child acquires must have in itself some utility apart from the educational value which lies in its acquirement. A complete exposition of this fallacy would involve a studious enquiry into the essential nature and purpose of education, a laborious research of the methods which are now in favour, and possibly some comment upon the conduct of the persons who are engaged in educational work.

By way of prelude to introduce these various themes, it may be remarked that this controversy in which I propose to engage myself is not precisely new, and I do not expect to bring to it any sudden accession of wisdom, but rather to make a conjecture at the likelihood of the thing, not either as one uttering an oracle or delivering a dogma, but with a full apprehension of the fallibility of all human sayings.

Let us begin with the assumption that our theory of education is fallacious. Consequently a system which is based upon a false principle must itself be wrong. This is the proper frame of mind for the conduct of any research. It is in accord with reason and experience; and the assumption is not a violent one. We have been wrong in our theories about God: possibly we are not even yet correctly and adequately informed upon that large matter. Our knowledge of the meaning of the world which we have seen has turned out, when it was put to the test, to be as irrational as our theology; and upon this less abstruse subject—comparatively, that is—there is yet a divergence of opinion.

Up to a time within the memory of men now living the theory of education was that the process had something to do with education. This general statement may be allowed to stand, although it merits scrutiny. It has been attacked by those who, in ignorance of the essential nature of education and under the delusion that going to school or the acquirement of unrelated fragments of knowledge constitutes its effect, profess to find in it a brutalizing effect upon the mind. This judgement is too sweeping, although it does in a way enforce the truth that the education

which is of most value is that which a man gives to himself. It takes note of the Socratic fallacy that a man of knowledge and even of correct opinions will be of necessity a good man. It has an eye too upon what George Gissing calls the intelligence of the heart, that quality which saves a man from folly. Happily we, as well as he, have seen men and women, ignorant, prejudiced, capable of the absurdest misreasoning; and yet their faces shone with the virtues of kindness, sweetness, generosity, and modesty.

In that division of literature which pretends to give an account of the operation of the Divine Spirit in the human soul, a clear distinction is drawn between the significance of an act and a work. The matter is very abstruse, but it and our subject may both be illustrated by saying that education is not an act nor a series of acts, but a work of slow accomplishment, which ends in leaving a man different, and better than he was before. An illustration is not proof, and we can go no further until we shall have determined what the end and aim of education really is, whether, in short, it is the achievement of mental activity or the upbuilding of character.

Wise men have applied their minds to this subject from the earliest times, and their maxims

were already "obsolete and stale" when Adicæologos discoursed with Socrates. And since, as Plato says, possibly in his own defence, it is altogether probable that wise men do not talk nonsense, it may be well to set forth their opinion, and taking nothing as proven, bring it to the test of reasonableness. All education, Plato himself declares, consists in effecting a change from a worse to a better state of mind, and him he considers educated, who converts what appears and is evil into what is and appears good. In similar words Milton affirms that the end of learning is to repair the ruins of our first parents' fall by regaining to know God aright, and out of that knowledge to love Him, to imitate Him, to be like Him. After the manner of Montaigne we might cite his own authority upon the institution and education of a child, "that aimeth at true learning and in which would be disciplined not so much for gain nor for external show and ornament but to adorn and enrich his inward mind, desiring rather to shape and institute an able and sufficient man."

From another source we may obtain a curious confirmation of these high views. J.-J. Rousseau, after he had abandoned his five children, felt qualified to write a treatise upon education. Mr. Jules Lemaître, as the result of a judicious

enquiry, has delivered judgement that "lies are the very soul of three-fourths of all his books." To say that a man lies is to admit that sometimes he speaks the truth; therefore, we may with the greater confidence give attention to what Rousseau says in the remaining fourth of his writings. The object of education, he declares, is to prolong the period of a boy's ignorance: it is not to form a man destined for any given profession, but a man, — healthy, strong, frank, loyal.

This view of the high aim of education has always been set forth in opposition to the lower aim at the useful and the practical. A meeting of school trustees in any district to-day will give back as an echo the words of the Greek chorus: "This lower learning is an invention worth a thousand pounds to those who practise it." This confusion between learning and education, this mistake of the wrappings for the kernel, is well set forth in the history of that poor man, as related by Aristophanes, who mistook the fish-hook for the fish. It was apparent to Plato when he declared that he had seen in the Courts men keen, and shrewd, and skilled in the use of words, with dwarfed and grovelling souls, deprived of mental enlargement, uprightness, and independence. The phenomenon cannot be unusual, since

Milton witnessed it in his own country at a much later period: "Men allured to the trade of law, who ground their purposes not on the prudent and heavenly contemplation of justice and equity, but on the promising and pleasing thoughts of litigious terms, fat contentions, and flowing fees."

I am quite well aware that the standard of education cannot be fixed by authority, no matter how weighty it may be. We may not without fresh examination accept the judgement of the wisest men of the olden time. Their view is brought forward by way of contrast merely because it is definite and does possess an obvious likeness to the probability of truth. We have made so many contributions to knowledge that we shall not be dominated even by the mind of Plato, especially at a moment when we are about to add the mastery of the air to our mastery of the earth and the waters which cover it.

The contribution which we have made to the science of education amounts to this: that the study of the classics is useless, and that study alone is valuable which has something to do with science. As a result the issue is not now between classical education and scientific education, but between any education whatever and no education at all. In reality there never was any real contest be-

tween science and classics, because all education is one. Science merely aims at establishing the orderly continuity and development of created things, and classics the continuity of the intellect and of the emotions; it becomes thereby a part of science in itself. Previous to Mr. Huxley's time science was considered, in English-speaking communities at least, to have only to do with a backward and forward, instead of a rotary, movement of the fists for purposes of self-defence; and it is not remarkable if he showed little piety towards the method by which the persons who held that absurd motion had been educated.

The opinion still persists, however, that there are two kinds of education, and that choice should be made between them according to the result which is desired. These are in the main two: that the boy shall be educated; and that he shall be efficient in the calling which he is to follow. Roughly speaking, a classical education was an attempt to realize the one; the modern system is a frank attempt to arrive at the other. Up to our own time England was the exponent of a classical education, and we must admit that in some way, whether by reason of or in spite of it, Englishmen were the best educated men in the world. They acquired a tincture of learning, a sense of

fairness and of duty, a contempt of low conduct. They feared God, honoured the king, and loved their country. They had character. But in time the discovery was made that, in spite of this character or by reason of it, they did not get on in the world as well as those who had a different education or none at all. The Germans were beating them in some fields: the Americans in others.

The educational authorities in the United States were the first to introduce the new learning into their schools. Dazzled by the achievements of science in producing electric light, telephones, and buildings which scrape the sky, they were unable to estimate the value of these performances to humanity. They assumed that it must be immense and a scientific education was the thing. Boys of tender years were set to work forthwith with test-tubes. They dissected plants. They looked through lenses, and were told what to see. Rather, they spent their time over books on chemistry, botany, and biology; deluding themselves into the belief that they were becoming educated by acquiring into their memories a number of unrelated statements.

It must be admitted that the people of the United States have acquired a certain prestige in

business. This success has been attributed to a system of education which made them smart, whilst in reality it was due to the abundance of their natural resources, the ease with which those resources were exploited, and their absolute freedom of trade over a territory and with a population of such an extent as the world has never seen. From a somewhat careful study of the biographies of American "Captains of Industry" one gathers that the factor which is common to all of them is the meagreness of their scholastic career by any method whatever.

There is a body of evidence of a material character which goes to show that this system of training has ended by leaving the boy uneducated whilst it has not given him any knowledge of science; and it is to the United States that we must look for its logical and complete development. In their public schools there are 16,596,503 boys and girls at a yearly charge of \$376,996,472. This calculation makes no allowance for the value of these young persons' time, which is of some value in communities where attendance upon school is considered only a part and not the whole of life. From this body of students extending over every State in the Union, and embracing members not of the more stupid classes alone, a cer-

tain number are drawn for examination for entrance into the Military Academy at West Point. This selection is above the average and includes only those who have passed through all grades in the public schools.

Indeed last year, of 314 boys who were examined, 295, or 90 per cent, were educated in public schools, and the average number of years of attendance in these schools was 9 years, 11 months. Separating this into primary and secondary attendance, the average attendance in high schools was 3 years, 3 months; and in grammar schools, 6 years, 8 months. Of these, 103 had private tutoring, wholly or in part; 135 had a college education of one year or more, and 189 had studied the classics. Out of 314 who took the examination, 265, or 84 per cent, failed in one or more subjects; 209, or 66 per cent, failed in two or more subjects; while 26, or eight per cent, failed in all. Of the 135 who enjoyed at least one year's instruction in a college, 82 failed to pass. The subjects of examination were those which are usually chosen for entrance to a University: elementary algebra; plane geometry; English grammar; literature and composition; history; and geography. It will be observed that no mention is made of Latin or Greek. Colonel Larned, who is in charge

of the Military Academy, has done a service to the cause of common-sense by exposing these results, as he has done, in the "North American Review."

A possible inference from these returns is that the boys were trained in athletics and had acquired a manly vigour, if no great profundity of scholarship. But Colonel Larned dispels this illusion also, when he informs us that of these 314 selected pupils, 82 were rejected on physical examination and 18 were placed upon probation, making a total of 100, or 30 per cent. As an illustration of what a prolonged period of this education will do for a boy's mind, Colonel Larned cites the case of a pupil from New Jersey, who had been ten years in a grammar school and five months at "a technological high school." He made in algebra 33 per cent; in geometry 15; in grammar 36; in composition and literature 46; in geography 52; in history 52 per cent. He was under the impression that the Seine is in Northern Russia and the Ebro in Western France. He writes "orbet," "gess," "orther," "cival," "barbarious," "cural." He conceives of Rome as embracing "all Italy the Holy Land or Jerusalem"; and of Feudalism as "one family making war on another in their castles"; of the Wars of the Roses as "between

Cromwell and the King"; and of the Reformation as the changing by the people from "the evile ways to a more christian way of living." He reprobates the Inquisition as "barbarious methods resorted to in order to try and convert a person's religion. These methods were very cural." As to the causes of the war for the Union, he judges that "slavery was the main aggitation; so Carolina done most of the disputing and finely ceceeded." His grammar is no less original in conception: "If is an infinitive. It gives ground to make the sentence possible, and if removed causes to become inoperative," — which reminds one of much other American writing, especially in the domain of medicine.

From another source we get confirmation of this evidence, which shows that with a more purely scientific training the results are not much better. Mr. Hornwill, in that important publication, "The Scientific American," offers as illustrations some examples drawn from answers to examination papers: "The equator is a menagerie lion running round the earth. The earth's climate is the hottest next the creator. Sound effects the oratory nerves. The blood is putrified in the lungs by inspired air. The axis of the earth is an imaginary line on which the earth is supposed to

take its daily routine. Food passes through the elementary canal. One of the brightest stars is called the Juniper. A watershed is a place where there is water and rocks overhead that form a shed. A watershed is a house between two rivers, so that a drop of water falling on one side of a roof runs into one river and a drop on the other side goes into the other river. A parallel straight line is one which, when produced to meet itself, does not meet. Parallel straight lines, even if produced to all eternity, can not expect to meet each other. Air usually has no weight, but when placed in a barometer it is found to weigh about fifteen pounds to a square inch. If a small hole were bored in the top of a barometer tube, the mercury would shoot up in a column thirty feet high. Things which are equal to each other are equal to anything else. Gravity is chiefly noticeable in the autumn when the apples are falling from the trees. Mushrooms always grown in damp places and so they look like umbrellas. The probable cause of earthquakes may be attributed to bad drainage and neglect of sewage. A steamer cut or part the water aside ; but with a sailing vessel it is not the case, for it sail up and down on the waves and billows. Electricity and lightning are of the same nature, the only difference being that

lightning is often several miles in length, while electricity is only a few inches."

President Pritchett of the Carnegie Foundation Fund for the Advancement of Teaching in his annual report informs us that, of the students entering Harvard last year, 58 per cent failed to meet all requirements. In Yale the ratio was 57 per hundred. In Columbia 75 out of 145 entrants were "conditioned"; and in New York University the numbers were 36 out of 41.

The main result of the English method was that boys with minds which were capable of improvement were educated and became leaders of men. The boys without such minds were relegated to their own place without loss of time to their teachers or waste of their own. The aim of the American method is to bring the whole mass up to the same level, with the result that there are few leaders and many ill-educated. This principle finds its ultimate expression in those schools which are designed for the instruction of the imbecile, and the re-education, as it is called, of those who have lost their reason by accident or disease.

The advocates of the classical method would do well to fix their minds upon the essential utility of the thing, and not upon any fanciful utili-

tarian value which it may possess. Even Milton fell into this fallacy when he advised that boys should read such bucolic writers as Cato, Varro, and the rural parts of Virgil and Ovid, so that they might be incited to improve the tillage of their country. From this it was an easy descent to the institutions of physic, so that they might learn "how to manage a crudity." There is danger also in the newest theory that Latin shall be learned in order that one may know how to write English. This will do very well for those who cannot write and must learn how ; and yet a travelling tinker lodged in a wayside gaol, a nicely brought up young lady, or a well-trained housemaid, who have been accustomed from their youth up to good models, will speak and write better English than one may expect to find amongst the undergraduates in the classical department of an American University.

I do not think that the account which is commonly given of the value of a classical education is the correct one. It is alleged that it trains the boy to think, to reason, to arrive at exact conclusions, and to entertain correct opinions. I think that the value of a classical education lies in the fact that the pupil passes his time without debauching his mind with facts which for him are

only half truths because they are ill-comprehended. He is not tempted by the fancied utility of the thing which he is learning to "swallow his philosophy by mouthfuls," to take short cuts, to take refuge in words. The boy who has a mind can learn classics: the boy who has no mind cannot, and he is not persuaded that he knows a thing when he does not know it. The words of the dialogue in "The Clouds" apply to him:

"*Pheidip.* What can I learn or profit from such teachers?

Streps. But first and foremost thou canst learn to know

Thyself, how totally unlearn'd thou art;
How mere a blockhead and how dull of brain."

He does not hear that fatal call to the uninspired, of which Mr. Benson speaks, nor does he enter in at that door which the modern method opens to the incompetent.

The boy who spends ten years in a classical school has upon the surface some fifty thousand lines of Latin and some Greek to show for it. Their meaning is lost upon him. It will not occur to him that these languages were ever employed by living men for the expression of hate, cupidity, or love. His authors are hard or easy, their writ-

ings a mere contexture of words. If he is insensible to the sardonic laughter and mordant ridicule of Juvenal; the cold irony, the biting satire, and pitiless scorn of Tacitus; the airy grace of Lucian; the wide humanity of Cicero; the urbanity of Horace; the histrionic display which Cæsar makes, or the flexibility which Livius lends to his vocabulary; he is also insensible to the lubricity of Catullus, the licentious fancy of Ovid, and to the facile sycophancy, the gross literalness, the brilliant prurience, and unabashed mendicancy of Martial. If one can imagine a young Japanese reading a few chapters of Justin McCarthy's volumes or a play by Mr. G. B. Shaw, in ignorance of the fact that these great writers were Irishmen, he will gain some notion of the degree of intelligence which the average school-boy brings to bear upon his classics. Both are dead to the substance and dead to the form. For such purposes as it is alleged are served by a reading of these ancient writers, the plays of Shakespeare would do quite as well. But the real purpose would be missed, — a detachment of mind, the pure, ingenuous simplicity and peace of boyhood, a lack of curiosity, a calmness of intellect, a quietness of emotion, which permits of a healthful growth. In the very uselessness of his tasks and in the drilling

and drudgery which their mastery demands is to the boy their highest value as a disciplinary measure. It is in this that education consists.

Another advantage of this hard and fast curriculum, as Professor Macnaughton insists, was that in due season it stimulated a curiosity about those things which lay outside. Latin and Greek were so difficult that the boy was driven for relief to English writers, who then had all the relish of stolen waters or bread eaten in secret, — a literary food which boys now disdain because there is danger of being examined about the nature of it.

A remarkably intelligent woman defended the English public schools by appealing to their success in producing governors. This comment is not nearly so absurd as it seems, although, as Dean Walton remarked, the proportion of such persons must be extremely small. The boy was taught no formulæ, and he went to his appointed task with an open mind, trusting to his own instincts and the genius of his race. The best instructed communities govern themselves worst, because they are so wise that they create a theory of government instead of abiding by experience. Kansas is the least illiterate State in the Union and it has the worst legislation. Each man is so wise

that he wishes to govern everyone else, and he is not wise enough to perceive that the foolishness of all the people is more valuable than the wisdom of any individual. The English boy of eighteen who has spent ten years at classics is as ignorant of classics as the American boy who has spent an equal length of time at science is ignorant of science. The one, however, is consciously ignorant; the other is unconscious that his knowledge is so incomplete that it amounts to misinformation.

This governor *in posse* had suspected from his classical studies, slight though they were, that there were people in the world before his time, and that their civilization was different from his own. He had possibly read in the "Antigone" of Sophocles that the Greeks held it as a horrible thing that a dead body should remain unburied. Consequently he would acquire a toleration of other ideas which to him were equally absurd, and a sympathy with the peoples who held them. By this flexibility of imagination he could enter into the mind of the Hindoo and discover that it has much in common with the Greek; he would comprehend strange religions, and appreciate the significance of practices which were alien to his own experience. That is the first lesson which an Imperial people has to learn.

I am far from pretending that there is a magical efficacy in the classics, apart from the environment of masters and scholars, and the tradition of the schools in which they are taught, or that ignorance of science, history, and geography is in itself a virtue. Yet that man alone is educated who is competent to enter into the heritage of all the ages, by living over again and integrating in himself the intellectual life of the race at the various levels of its achievement. By watching eagerly and disinterestedly the whole pageant of humanity unfold itself, he will get a grasp of the plan and purpose of it, and by knowing it learn to love it. Life has no meaning unless one can see the whole of it; and the present can be freshened only by a new sense of its vital connexion with the past. That is the meaning of all the renaissances. If a man would enter into the kingdom, he must go to school as a little child in the childhood of the race, and use the classics as his book; but the two streams of classics and science must eventually unite, if the accumulated experience of the past and the present would be adequately transmitted to the generations which are to come.

In every occupation there is a kind of professional cant, and in none is it so elaborately framed

as in that which is technically known as professorial. The last man in the world to whom we should apply for a correct opinion upon the value of a thing is he who is engaged in doing it. A Highland piper is apt to possess an exaggerated notion of the place of music in the world and the pleasure which it gives, especially of that music which he performs so well. To the tympanist the sound of the drum alone gives coherence to the various sounds which are produced by other members of the orchestra; and I have heard the lecturer on poultry in an important University declare that the rearing of hens was the best possible training for the memory, as the birds resembled each other so closely whilst in reality they were different. The lecturer in classics did not agree with him; he thought that learning words out of a dictionary was a better method. It is the professor who is most completely convinced of the importance to the world of that kind of education which he gives. He is the University, but that does not prove the value of the professor, of the University, or of the business in which both are engaged. That must be determined by other considerations entirely.

There is a great gulf fixed between professing to know about a thing and knowing it in reality ;

and there is a still greater gulf between knowing about a thing and the doing of it. The utmost which is demanded of a professor is that he shall talk about things; and it is worthy of comment that talk about a thing grows more exuberant after it has passed away. Whilst the Italians of the fifteenth century were painting pictures there were no professors of art, and no professors of literature when the Elizabethans were writing their immortal poetry. Sophocles and Æschylus wrote their tragedies before Aristotle showed them how. The middle Victorian era, in which there was no art to admire, was the period when the art of talking about art was best understood. In America to-day, — and Professor Leacock has reminded us very forcibly that Canada is in America, — where there is neither art, nor literature, nor education, fifteen thousand professors are lecturing before a hundred thousand students in the higher institutions of learning.

II

Every professor must have asked himself the question, at least once in his lifetime, — Why does a University exist? During that long period between the death of learning and the birth of science, if the question occurred to a professor in those leisure moments after the siesta was over

and the carp fed, he would probably reply that the precise function of a University was to do nothing, and that a professor was performing his whole duty by being a professor, an example of attainment, just as a priest was held to justify his existence by being a priest.

But in time, the enquiring habit of mind which people have developed under the influence of economic necessity and of the scientific method, and the rising conscience within the academic body, have constrained the Universities to give a more adequate account of themselves in justification of their existence. In short, they are explaining their usefulness to the community.

The most specific account which has been given in recent years of what is assumed to be at least one function of a University is that which is contained in the Report of a Joint Committee of Oxford University and Working-class Representatives on the Relation of the University to the Higher Education of Work-people. This Report was issued at the end of the year 1908, and bears as title "Oxford and Working-class Education." It may be obtained from the Clarendon Press for the sum of one shilling.

It is conceivable, of course, that in the long period of a thousand years the function of a University may have changed, and no one, least of

all the professors, be aware of the fact. In England many of the colleges which constitute the Universities were organized for the benefit of "poor men living on alms," *pauperes ex eleemosyna viventes*, because, as William of Wykeham in founding New College in 1386 affirmed, "Christ among his works of mercy hath commanded men to receive the poor into their houses and mercifully to comfort the indigent." In certain other colleges the members were forbidden to keep dogs, on the ground that "to give to dogs the bread of the children of man is not fitting for those who live on alms." The members were not "poor men" exclusively in all colleges. The foundress of Balliol urged the richer ones to live "so temperately as not to weigh down the poor by reason of burdensome expenses," and she urged the fellows to choose as a scholar the candidate who combined poverty, excellence of character, and learning. In the statutes for Merton the foundation was not for really poor men, but for *pauperes secundarii*, or second-class poor. Other colleges were designed by great prelates as an accommodation for persons who by blood or other ties were dependent upon them.

In the United States also, the various colleges were organized for a specific purpose. Yale was

chartered in 1701 for the propagation of Congregational theology; the college of New Jersey, commonly called Princeton, was established in the interests of Presbyterian dogma; and Harvard was founded in order that "ministers and other useful persons might issue forth." It was not long before a visitor at Oxford was obliged to reprimand the scholars in the words: "Some there are among you who, desiring to live delicately, make the modus of your expenditure to exceed that which your founder by rule appointed"; and Latimer declared: "If ye bring it to pass that the yeomanry be not able to put their sons to school, I say ye pluck salvation from the people. By yeomen's sons the faith of Christ is, and hath been, maintained chiefly." The English colleges, like the American, were especially designed for purposes which in those days were believed to have something to do with religion, but no English lad now goes to Oxford because he is poor and few because they are religious, any more than an American boy goes to Yale because he is imbued with the tenets of Congregationalism; or to Princeton because his lips have been touched with a coal from a Presbyterian altar; or to Harvard because he is desirous of becoming a minister or even an otherwise "useful person." In time the Uni-

versities which were founded for purposes of learning and religion came to exist for the benefit of professors who were not necessarily learned or religious, and there seemed nothing incongruous in the transformation.

One should not fail to notice that these institutions continue to be conducted for the benefit of the staff as well as for the benefit of the student, because it has something to do with the rivalry which exists between Universities in "attracting" young men by offering them opportunities for learning a trade; since, when the students are gathered together, the public may be appealed to for support on the ground of increasing numbers, as a man might plead the excuse of an increasing family for obtaining public charity. This is the origin of the bitterness between the University of New York and Columbia, as disclosed in the recent writings of President MacCracken of the smaller institution, who alleges that Columbia is attempting to "freeze him out" by protesting that there is room for only one University in New York. It was he, I believe, who first employed the term "educational trust."

It is quite possible that the ancient belief is a mistaken one, that a University exists for the preservation and advancement of learning and for

the formation of character by a process known as education. Possibly the modern belief is the correct one, that the function of a University is the teaching of trades. So important a divergence of opinion might well be investigated by professors of education, to ascertain if the one is exactly right and the other exactly wrong.

It is a common belief, especially in England, that the American Universities have endeavoured to make their usefulness apparent by casting away any tradition of learning and religion which may have lingered beyond its time. Indeed there appears to be some ground for this view of the case. One of themselves has said it. The "Evening Post," February 6th, 1909, gives a vivid account of the manifold activities of the American student, which, if not entirely accurate, will serve for purposes of illustration: "From early September to Thanksgiving Day there is football, with the only intermission of election day, when the undergraduate is a 'husky watcher' at the polls in the interest of some reform movement. From December 1st to the middle of January he plays basketball, trains for hockey, and accepts sporadic engagements as strike-breaker and tenement-house investigator. Then comes the first snow, and for nearly a month he is with the street-cleaning

department. He works odd days for the Interborough Company, testing how fast a car can be emptied and filled by means of the tandem formation. The last two weeks in February he passes his days in the psychological laboratory, being tested for colour and rhythm-sense and living on benzoate of soda. In March, indoor baseball practice begins. In April, spring practice on the river begins. From June to September he plays summer baseball. After four years of such toil, he gets his deserved degree of Bachelor of Arts."

In some institutions courses are offered in carding and spinning, weaving and dyeing, and a degree of Bachelor of Engineering is offered at the end of this study of textile industry. The University is put to the question: "Do you pay?" The matter is quite frankly stated in the calendars of the smaller American Colleges. In one we read: "Does it pay to educate? What are you worth? As a servant, \$140 a year. As a day labourer, \$300 a year. As a farm hand, \$240 a year. What may you be worth? As a teacher, \$500 a year up. As a business man, from \$1,000 a year up. Conclusion: Why not increase your value? Education only will do it." In other forms it appears thus: "College men draw better salaries than other men and succeed better in busi-

ness undertakings"; "Demand for our graduates over five times more than can be filled"; "Our graduates are sought for the most lucrative and responsible positions; one of them handled over a million dollars for his firm in one year." Even in the Faculty of Arts, especially of the smaller Universities, the students are merely learning the trade of a schoolmaster, or rather of a schoolmistress, since the boys are being rapidly turned out of that "profession" by the girls, to take refuge in the engineering classes. I am not questioning the value of these achievements, but merely expressing a doubt that their accomplishment has anything to do with a University.

It is a common belief, especially in America, that a different view prevails in England, of which the late Dean Johnson was the best exponent. This shrewd observer was never done protesting that men who were concerned only about becoming surveyors, miners, engineers, lawyers, dentists, doctors, and builders, had no place in the company of men who desired an education for the sake of its effect, real or fancied, upon the individual. He observed that "engineering students" wore overalls, smoked their pipes, and cursed. He had previously observed that plumbers also were addicted to these practices, and he could

detect no essential distinction between the two classes, although he did remark that a plumber was a plumber; whereas these graduates knew little or nothing of their business upon the day of leaving the University and entering into the world. The time to study the application of science, he thought, was after, and not before, one had acquired a scientific mind, and the time to develop a scientific mind was after it had been educated. The principles of engineering, he admitted, might well be taught, even in a University which was concerned with education, to those who were qualified to receive instruction; but to enable a boy to manage an unreal steam-engine, to bestow upon him an agility in looking out figures from tables and ordinates from curves of this or that function was not to make of him either an educated man or an engineer. Certainly an unprejudiced observer will find matter for wonder in a University which confers a doctorate upon a man who is expert in remedying defects in the teeth, and has a chair which is filled by a professor of "orthodontia," whilst it refuses equal recognition to the man who wipes a joint, or does "crown and bridge work" upon material which is not attached to the human frame.

This belief, however, that the Universities of

England regard their charters as valid only so long as they have something to do with the preservation and advancement of learning is not so commonly held since the publication of this Report to which I have referred. Nothing could be more admirable than the form in which it states the case for direct utility. The argument is conducted with a full desire for fairness, a spirit of concession, a sweetness of temper, and a winsomeness, which convinces one that the University has wrought her perfect work upon the minds and hearts of those who were engaged upon it, even upon those members who are described as working-class representatives, although one would be willing to learn what part they had in the expression of sentiments so beautiful in themselves and so admirably stated, especially the part which was taken by one member of the Committee, who is described as High Secretary of the Independent Order of Rechabites. A note might well have been added to the Report defining exactly what a Rechabite is, so that one might form some opinion of his capacity for entertaining correct opinions upon education. If he had descended from Jonadab, the son of Rechab, by ordinary generation, we might be disposed to accept his opinion upon the undesirability of building houses, sow-

ing seed, planting vineyards, and drinking wine ; and yet question his authority in matters pertaining to a University which neither dwells in tents, nor abstains from "pots full of wine and cups."

This Report is merely an amplification of the enquiry which Sir Leslie Stephen informs us was addressed to his brother, Sir James Fitzjames Stephen, by their tutor : "Stephen, major ; if you do not write good longs and shorts, how can you ever be a man of taste ? If you are not a man of taste, how can you ever hope to be of use in the world ?" The Committee has arrived at the conclusion that in a University education alone lies the sovereign remedy for all social ills, and they appear to believe that those who suffer from those ills are under a similar misapprehension. They tell us that "education of the highest type given by the Universities has entered into the consciousness of large bodies of organized work-people as an essential element in their conception of human welfare" ; and "that the eleven millions who weave our cloths, build our houses, and carry us safely on our journeys demand University education in order that they may face with wisdom the unsolved problem of their present position." There are other things also which appear to have entered at least into a portion of

their consciousness : that they should receive ten hours' pay for eight hours' work, that in their old age they should be supported by their more thrifty neighbours, and that they should enter Parliament. We are all too prone to believe that human welfare lies alone in a class which is different from our own.

The fact of the matter is that the working-classes — if one must continue to employ the words of the Report — are mistaken and the professors are mistaken too, in assuming that a University education, or any other education which has its origin in books, is of much value for a workman or a professor either, unless the individual has a mind which will profit by it. The experiment has been tried for the past hundred years. It has not produced educated men, and it has produced inefficient workmen.

The movement for adult education began late in the eighteenth century, at a time when all forms of folly were even more rife than they are now. In the outset it was of a religious nature, and the benefits which were obtained from religion were wrongly attributed to the education with which it was associated. With the increasing application of science to industry it was supposed that a new education was required, and Mechanics'

Institutes attempted to supply the need. By the middle of the century the attempt ended in failure. It was found that the preliminary equipment of the student who had never attended an elementary school was too small for him to make good use of lectures and classes. In all there was probably some disillusionment and disappointment when it was found that the direct effects of technical institutions in bettering the material condition of the individual workman were comparatively small.

These two attempts were followed by University extension education. Between 1885 and 1908, 32,146 lectures were delivered under the control of the Oxford University Extension Delegacy alone, in 577 centres, to 424,500 students. Upon the success of this movement the present Report affords valuable information. It was found that so long as the system was compelled to be financially self-supporting, so long must the lecturer attract large audiences; it was necessary that 852 persons attend the lecture of a second-class lecturer to raise the money necessary to pay the fee. The lecturers and the subject had to be chosen not on account of their educative value, but with a view to the probability of their drawing such large audiences that the lectures would pay. Suc-

cess then tended to be measured in terms of quantity not of quality, and if the members fell off from a course, it had to be replaced by another which was more likely to draw. The lecturer then became an orator addressing a public audience. Sir Robert Morant got at the truth of the matter when he said that it was not more lectures that were required, but real solid work.

The Report recognizes frankly another difficulty when it states: "It too often happens that a teacher fails almost entirely when confronted with a working-class audience because he has started from a point of view so different from theirs as to make it impossible for the mind of students and teachers ever to come into real contact with each other. The things which he regards as important have seemed to them trivial, and he has never really touched the problems upon which their minds are exercised." Accordingly the teacher is advised to take special steps to get into touch with the working-classes, to appreciate and sympathize with the point of view from which they approach a subject; but we are not informed how this is to be done. It is as difficult to get into touch with the working-class as it is to get into touch with a company of Fellows in a Common Room, and one "cannot sympathize with a point

of view" from which he believes a false impression is obtained.

The Committee stumbled upon the truth unconsciously when they admitted that work-people "will not be content with any substitute for University education which assumes that they will be unable to enter the University," since "a University Extension student, though he may win a certificate, is not as yet stamped thereby with the hallmark of an educated man in the same way as is the recipient of even a pass degree at Oxford." There is the fact forced home bluntly: it is the hallmark which is desired, and not the quality which an honest hallmark signifies. Herbert Spencer stated the truth with that plainness which was habitual to him when he said: "If we inquire what is the real motive for giving boys a classical [University] education, we find it to be simply conformity to public opinion. To get above some and be revered by them, and to propitiate those who are above us, is the universal struggle in which the chief energies of life are expended. We are none of us content with quietly unfolding our own individualities to the full in all directions; but have a restless craving to impress our individualities upon others, and in some way subordinate them. This it is which deter-

mines the character of our education. Not what knowledge is of most real worth is the consideration ; but what will bring most applause, honour, and respect, — what will most conduce to social position and influence, — what will be most imposing. As, throughout life, not what we are, but what we shall be thought, is the question ; so in education, the question is, not the intrinsic value of knowledge, so much as its extrinsic effects on others.”

In direct opposition to this statement, which bears upon its face some appearance of probability, the Committee answers its own questions — “To what will the education which we wish Oxford to offer to work-people lead ?” “We have already expressed an opinion that the demand for University education made by work-people is not so much for the facilities to enable their children to compete successfully with members of other classes for positions of social dignity and emolument, as to enable workmen to fulfil with greater efficiency their duties which they owe to their own class, and, as members of their class, to the whole nation. There can therefore be no doubt that, with some exceptions, the working-class students who go to Oxford will at the end of their two years of study return to the towns from which

they came, and continue to work at their trades, as before." This opinion, however, is qualified by the words, "The working-class demand that higher education should not separate the student from his own people must not be taken to imply that it is desired that he should necessarily return to the bench or the machine at which he worked before going to Oxford, but that he should in one capacity or another use his education in the service of his fellows." We may well deplore the advent of working-men to Oxford as classes, not as individuals, if they import with them the methods of the labour unions, which the students of their own peculiar Ruskin College employed last April in their "foolish and disorderly proceedings" against Principal Hird.

The trend of thought is further indicated in another Section: "What they desire is not that men should escape from their class, but that they should remain in it and raise its whole level. They do not wish, like the Scottish ploughman of fifty years ago, that their sons should be made by a University education into ministers or schoolmasters."

These Oxford professors are exactly wrong and the Scottish ploughman was exactly right. They treat the individual as a member of a class; he

looked upon his boy as a single individual, as a man in the University and the Universe. If it is foreordained from all eternity that the world shall be for ever composed not of men but of classes of men rising one upon the other from ploughmen, schoolmasters, and ministers, to professors, then a co-equal decree may possibly be discovered under which the education proper to each class shall be set forth. The present proposal appears to be that all men shall receive a University education: and yet that conclusion is vitiated by the remark in another section, "It seems to us that the task of educationalists in the future must be to ennoble the status of every class by supplying it with the form of culture appropriate to its needs."

And if the task of educationalists in the future must be to ennoble the status of every class by supplying it with the form of culture appropriate to its needs, by what means shall that form of culture be discovered which is appropriate to the status of every class? By asking each class what it needs. The students are to "pursue a plan of study drawn up by work-people and representatives of the University in consultation." Again, it is affirmed that "the advantage of throwing the local management of the classes into the hands of

a body representing working-people is that it ensures that the education offered will meet the needs of work-people."

A branch of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants passed a resolution, "that it is inexpedient for the working-classes to cultivate a closer relationship with Oxford, until the teachings of the Universities are radically altered, so that a truer view of social questions may be taught, and that it is inadvisable to send workmen students to colleges until the curriculum is made suitable for the training of labour leaders." To this the magnanimous reply is made that the Universities should coöperate with the Railway Servants, "in their efforts to obtain what they want instead of providing, without consulting them, what the University thinks they ought to want." Apparently the opposite course led to failure, since the admission is made that "the whole history of the University Extension Movement shows that higher education cannot be imposed upon work-people from above, but must be organized and managed by men who belong to themselves. This is in our opinion a fundamental axiom, the neglect of which will be followed by certain failure." And yet the University appears to believe that this partial failure may be turned into success by a nearer

approximation of extra-mural teaching to the teaching within the walls; and this is to be accomplished by the daring experiment of altering the principles upon which for a thousand years education has been conducted.

A man who is swimming for his life is not likely to make any profitable observations upon meteorology or natation; and a student who is harassed by poverty is incapable of that calm of mind which is essential for the education which comes from residence at a University. There is something piteous in the account which the Committee give from their own experience of the hopeless struggle. "We are well aware," they say, "of the great difficulties which beset the working-class student,—the lack of books, the crowded home, the often exhausting and mechanical labour, the fear of non-employment that too often absorbs his thoughts. We have known students to sit up not once but regularly, completing an essay, till one o'clock at night, and enter the mill next day at 6.30; or to attend classes on Saturday afternoon after a week containing twelve hours overtime over and above the standard 53 hours." We can readily agree that "a man who is supporting a family on 24 shillings a week cannot afford and ought not to be expected to buy more than one or

two inexpensive text-books"; but until we are informed what that diligent student was writing, we can offer no opinion upon his wisdom. Indeed there are very few essays which would justify a man's remaining out of his bed either for the writing or the reading of them.

Much is made of the benefits which will follow to the community from a temporary intermingling of members of various classes in the University, of the knowledge and suggestions which work-people may offer, and of the very valuable insight which they may obtain into the working of University institutions. It is not suggested, however, that a professor should perfect his education at the lathe or the bench; and no mention is made of the value of his knowledge or suggestions in the conduct of a factory. Yet surely a University is quite as complicated a concern as a workshop. We are told that "there must be that free movement from one class to another that alone can ensure that the manual and intellectual work of the nation is performed by those best fitted to perform it, and that fresh streams of ability are continually drawn from every quarter of society"; but we are not informed by what process the present graduates of the University shall be relegated to manual employments if it is ascertained that they have

a more peculiar aptitude for hand labour than for intellectual pursuits.

Let us suppose that a professor followed this amiable advice and moved from his own class into the class of the agricultural labourer. He would appear to be, and would be in reality, an ill-educated man. It would require years of experience before he was at home in his new environment, before he learned at what date oats must be sown in a certain field, where was the securest spot for setting a night line, which public house sold an ale to suit his palate, and where was the most delectable location in the parish for sunning himself on a Sunday afternoon.

The kingdom of learning can be taken only by force. Those who earnestly desire education will find the measure of their desire. Anything in excess of that is useless. There may be as much mental culture in reflecting upon one's inability to procure a degree as in accepting a degree which is thrust upon one. But if the degree is the thing, it can be obtained upon easier terms than the Committee proposes, even if the recommendation be adopted, that scholarships be provided of such an amount as would enable a man to maintain himself in the University, and in some cases as would in addition provide a margin to assist those

who might be dependent upon him, and who in consequence of his temporary withdrawal as wage-earner might suffer great hardship. Even the married man with a family is to be considered. There are colleges in the United States which offer a degree for fifty dollars, with the usual ten per cent discount, if fully paid in advance.

In opposition to this theory that University education is the sovereign remedy for all industrial evils, I cannot do better than quote the letter which Mr. Jude Fawley, stone-mason, received from T. Tetuphenay, the Master of "Biblioll College": "Sir, — I have read your letter with interest; and, judging from your description of yourself as a working-man, I venture to think that you will have a much better chance of success in life by remaining in your own sphere and sticking to your trade than by adopting any other course. That, therefore, is what I advise you to do."

It is a gratuitous assumption that education is found alone in a University. There must be many educated men in that class which produced the author of "Pilgrim's Progress"; and it is questionable if John Bunyan would have been improved by a period of residence in the Oxford of his day, or of our own day either. I am dis-

posed to think that if those adscititious circumstances did not exist which attract boys to Universities, there would be as large a proportion of educated men amongst the working-classes as amongst the holders of degrees, men of sincerity, candour, and simplicity of character and principle, like that other stone-mason whose reminiscences Mr. John Murray has just published.

The proposal, in short, of this Report is to lower the standard, to substitute for that training which is found alone in schools where the classical and philosophical tradition prevails, a kind of pseudo-scientific, hugger-mugger reading of literature, politics, economics, and languages, such as is considered ample in American Universities. And yet the committee had for its guidance the results of this new method as applied not only to secondary education, but also as employed in institutions for the higher learning. The evidence is contained in a report by Mr. F. I. Wylie, secretary to the Rhodes Trustees, upon the attainment of the scholars who went to Oxford from the United States. Mr. Wylie with proper reticence gives it merely as the "prevailing opinion" that they have shown themselves alert and versatile, but wanting in thoroughness; or, "to put it in its baldest form, the criticism

most often heard is that the American student, while keener than the average undergraduate, is more superficial and more easily satisfied." When Mr. Wylie speaks of the examination of these scholars who came as picked men and weighted with a whole State's learning and prestige, he describes their performance as "very creditable."

For the benefit of those who may not appreciate the fine significance of this peculiarly Oxford judgement, Mr. Fox of New Haven, where Yale College is situated, undertook an exposition in the "Evening Post," October 31st, 1908; and he did it with a scientific frankness for which he deserves the praise of all persons who are fond of sound learning. From the United States there were 81 scholars at Oxford, of whom all but six were college graduates, and presumably the average age was two years greater than that of their competitors. Mr. Fox, after an exhaustive analysis, sums up: "The comparison of these results with those achieved by the Englishmen themselves or by the Colonials is not favourable to the United States, especially in the two most important schools of Literæ Humaniores and Modern History. In the two years 1907 and 1908 there were, in round numbers, 300 names on the honour list. We had

one first in *Literæ Humaniores* and two in Modern History. The two scholars from Quebec entering in 1904 both took firsts in *Literæ Humaniores*. Of the seven from Australia in 1904, four took firsts and two seconds. In outside honours, such as prizes, scholarships, fellowships, official appointments, we have done very little as compared with the Colonials. One Canadian gained the Ireland, the Craven, the Chancellor's Prize for Latin Essay, and was made an honorary scholar of Balliol and honorary fellow at Exeter. Two Australians have taken the Vinerian Law Scholarships, and one of them took also the Eldon Law Scholarship, besides passing first class in the two schools of Bachelor of Civil Law and of Jurisprudence at Oxford, and also in the London Bar examination." As a proper closing of his review Mr. Fox gives a suggestive point to the argument by informing us that, of the nine students on the roll of honour, five came from the South of Mason and Dixon's line, where the system of education in vogue is essentially different from that which prevails in the North.

Oxford is regarded in all English-speaking communities as the last refuge of the scholar, and for his sake the professor with his little steam-engine or microscope could well be spared.

This Report is a thing of ill-omen. It offers to debase the currency in deference to a factitious demand from people who do not understand what they are asking, what they want, or what they need. So soon as we are convinced that "learning hath not her own true form nor can she show of her beauteous lineament if she fall into the hands of base and vile persons," we are prepared to assign to the University its true function, which is to be the comfortable and congenial abode of scholars. And what is the business of a scholar? Professor Gilbert Murray answered the question in his inaugural lecture upon "The Interpretation of Ancient Greek Literature," at Oxford, January 27th, 1909. The best life of Greece, he said, represented one of the highest moments of the past life of humanity, and he gave his answer in the words: "The business to which the world has set us Greek scholars is to see that it does not die." They are to act as mediators between the living and the dead, since with all the permutations of science the main web of life is permanent. It is the business of the religious teacher, as Harnack said, to remind us that a man named Jesus once lived: it is the business of the scholar to remind us that Plato, and Isaiah, and Vergil, though now being dead, yet speak to

us, and to interpret to us what they said in terms which we can comprehend.

By all who have beheld the beautiful city, so venerable, so lovely, so serene, spreading her gardens to the moonlight, and felt her ineffable charm, and heard her calling to the ideal, to perfection, to beauty, nearer to the true goal, perhaps, than all the science of Manchester or the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the Report will be read with that pain and wonder which could be expressed by no one save Matthew Arnold, whose words, it may be necessary to remind the present generation, I am using. How different is its conception of the business of a University from his idea that its purpose was for studying things that are outside of ourselves and studying them disinterestedly, for the attainment of complete human perfection, for that growth in the variety, fulness, and sweetness of life by which the hard unintelligence of the world shall be reduced.

There are different forms of folly. Each one requires treatment according to its kind, varying from wrath and curse to the bitter jest or dry scoff. For that amiable form which is technically known as professorial, something more mollifying is demanded ; it is so naïve, so disinterested, so sincere. It is the rôle of the politician to play the

courtier to King Demos with a perpetual "An it please your Majesty"; and this obeisance of Oxford appears like a clumsy attempt at an imitation of that performance which the politician by sedulous practice has learned to do so well. Oxford will suffice to herself and to the nation only so long as she remains true to that within herself which has made her what she is.

I think the statement will go uncontradicted that our schools, colleges, and universities do not especially minister to those high needs which Plato, and Aristophanes, and Montaigne, and Milton proclaimed. Indeed the suggestion that they were intended to do so would be regarded as comical. Let us take a somewhat lower view and assume that education has something to do with making of a man a good craftsman, whether he be professor or carpenter, by which he can earn his living, a good father who will perform his duty towards his family, a good citizen who will perform his duty towards the State. These offices have been performed, and are being performed, by men who were educated by the most diverse methods, and indeed by men who have never shared at all in those inestimable advantages which are believed to lie in schools and books. Tried by this test, the education through

which the professor has attained to his high eminence has no superiority over those methods which yield stock-brokers and clerks. Indeed there are incompetent professors just as there are inefficient plumbers. We have all seen men learned in that knowledge which makes them no wiser, "ever learning and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth." The one is as unsuitable for his environment as the other, and in each case the method of his education may have been ill-devised. From this the probability arises that education is not a mould in which all children shall be thrust.

It is with extreme diffidence that one should enter upon a discussion of the utility of methods of education, because any method will be wrong if applied to any pupil save the one for which it is suited. One principle will suffice for all boys, but a method is valid only for one individual. It would seem at first sight that we might gain valuable information by consulting with men who had succeeded in educating a large number of boys. Following this clue, I applied to a most successful schoolmaster, but the quest was hopeless. He was not aware that he had any method, and he refused to reflect upon the matter lest it might interfere with the spontaneity of his in-

instincts. Under the influence of the shock to his mind which was produced by the information that various methods were actually being discussed, his own principle was revealed to himself: "To lick a boy if he lied, or pronounced Oceana with a wrong quantity, or did not attend to his games and military drill." By this practice, he said, the boy was taught the unity of all evil, and consequently the unity of all good, from which in further consequence he learned to abhor that which was evil and to cleave to that which was good. He admitted that he had once read a formal treatise upon education in which the subject had been approached from three sides, the moral, the intellectual, the physical, and the various aspects of it examined. In this arrangement he thought that there was a defect, since it put asunder what was in reality one; "for," said he, "it is not a mind, it is not a body that we strive to erect, but it is a man, and we must not make parts of him."

For purposes of education it is not the method but the teacher which is required, and the essential requisite for a teacher is that he shall be an educated man. "In the choice of a tutor," says Montaigne, "consisteth the whole substance of the boy's education and bringing up," and he

would rather commend one who had a well-composed and tempered brain than a well-stuffed head. When I said that the essential requisite of a teacher is that he be an educated man I did not mean woman. Men of character are essential to the formation of character in boys. If a teacher would influence his pupils with "those mild and effectual persuasions with the intimation of some fear, but chiefly by his own example," he must be a man. For imparting information, women, or letters, or phonographs will do. Modern education has arrived at its logical attainment in the female teacher, the correspondence school, and the machine which gives out sounds representing certain facts.

No matter how adorable the feminine character, it is not precisely that which one would hold up for emulation by boys who are afterwards to become men. Yet the large proportion of public schools are taught by women who impress upon their pupils the character of women, and very immature or celibate women at that, whilst the process of instruction is going on. Books on education habitually speak of the teacher as "she," as if the sex were taken for granted.

To make the absurdity complete, boys and girls are taught in the same class; and the teaching is

identical, not on the ground that it is best for either sex, but that it is the same. This method of co-education neglects a fundamental fact of existence: that there is at least some distinction of sex, and some difference between individuals belonging to each. Professor Leacock very properly insists upon this antithesis when he says: "A girl is by nature a girl, — that is to say, a gentle, timid creature, with an instinctive tendency to nurse a doll or comfort a sick bird, to tell a fib, and to believe a clergyman implicitly, not by conviction of dogma, but on account of the smoothness of his broadcloth and the pleasing rotundity of his features. A boy is a rough, brutal animal, with an instinct for breaking glass, killing animals, avoiding the clergy, and regarding grown-up people as liars." Girls have a certain quickness of apprehension which is of inestimable value in the passing of examinations; and boys, seeing the immediate advantage of that quality, endeavour to mould their minds after the feminine type. Self-reliance, perseverance to the point of doggedness, a contempt of mere smartness, and contentment with stupidity even, all give place to the desire for rapid impressions and instant results. Communities abandoned to the public school and the female teacher quickly lose that character

which, for good or bad, is well described as manly. A woman gets what she wants in her own pretty way or by crying for it: a boy soon persuades himself that this ready method is efficacious for him also.

I am not now speaking of the education of women, having no immediate desire to involve myself in fresh controversy ; but I cannot refrain from endorsing that commendation which Roger Ascham offered to the Marquis and Marchioness of Dorset, who had “brought up their daughter strictly, requiring that she should speak, be silent, dance, walk, and with as much decorum and perfection as God made the world.” I shall set over against this — without comment, and I trust that this reticence will be accounted to me — the judgment which Miss Elizabeth Wordsworth delivers upon the same subject in the “Church Quarterly Review”: “We need not only ‘good’ women, but women whose religion rests upon a secure, intelligible foundation, and who are abreast of the theological science of the day.”

We are prone to overestimate the evil which education can work in a boy’s nature. He is not affected much by things which have no interest for him, though he may be injured by the stimulation of some particular faculty which is already

over-sensitive. If he is easily enamoured of the relation of functions or of pieces on a chequered board, he may unwittingly develop into a mathematician or a chess-player. But with a girl it is otherwise and the danger imminent. Her mind can be saturated with anything and everything. Consequently she is liable to suppress her characteristic self without acquiring a new and stable personality.

So long as education had the high aim of enlightening the mind, subduing the will, and giving to the material at hand the best possible character, it was inevitable that some account should be made of those elements in the nature which have to do with religion. Until our own day education and religion were invariably associated, and we have not yet succeeded in expounding away the force of that important direction, "The fear of God is the beginning of wisdom," — if one may mention that holy name in the hearing of teachers who are of the scientific sect. Let us make the utmost concession to the susceptibilities of those who believe that schools are only "national" when they are "non-religious," and substitute any other term which they may choose. The case is no different. Education divorced from religion ends in lawlessness, defiance of authority,

and ill-manners in every relation of life. It is the negation of all discipline.

Of course I am not speaking with praise of those schools in which a system of traditional theology and organized ecclesiasticism is mistaken for religion; nor of those in which it is considered that the ability to repeat the Lord's Prayer in Latin and draw a map of Palestine is the mark of a religious mind. There is this, however, to be said of schools of a professedly religious character: as a rule they are taught by men who, whether or not they are good men and men of character, are at least in the form of men and possess the authority which comes from strength and not from weakness.

At the time of the Episcopalian dissent from the Old Church, the traditional association of religion and education remained. After the more thorough Presbyterian dissent from the same Church, some rudiments of the principle were carried over and showed themselves in the high place which was given to that compendium of spiritual experience known as the Catechism, commonly called the "shorter," comparatively, that is, to distinguish it from a more elaborate expression of doctrine which was believed to exist. In time the discovery was made that the value of this in-

strument was intellectual rather than religious; and a boy who was whipped for his ignorance of the benefits which in this life do accompany or flow from justification, adoption, and sanctification could not well be blamed if he failed to appreciate the benefits which an apprehension of these doctrines might ensure to him at his death, at his resurrection, or in the life to come. It has always appeared to me significant of this domination of the intellectual over the spiritual that the table of the multiplication of numbers was invariably printed upon the little book as a seal of its authority, the obvious truthfulness of "twice two make four" being imputed unconsciously to all which was contained within the covers.

This superstitious reverence of education is a survival from an earlier stage of civilization, when men believed that persons who had the ability to read and write could in some way influence the condition of the future existence of their less instructed fellow-men, and it was inconceivable that persons so learned should experience any difficulty in making satisfactory arrangements for themselves. In this present life, also, they were entitled to certain benefits, that of clergy, for example, by which one who had been convicted in a secular court could claim a hearing before

the ecclesiastical authorities on his own declaration of innocence in arrest of judgement. Long after the description of the exact nature of hell was assumed to be allegorical, some traces of this idolatrous worship of education remained; and illiterate persons yet regard with a certain adoration those who have skill in the use of letters.

Probably the statement will go uncontradicted that a boy is sent to school in order that something may be done with his mind, as a girl would go to a school for singing, that something may be done with her voice. Yet it is a curious anomaly that all boys are sent to school upon the assumption that they have minds which can be equally trained, whilst the girl must show some evidence that she has a voice which will profit by the labour which it is proposed to bestow upon it.

It is not equally easy to measure the results in each case, and it is somewhat excusable that the mind should receive a vicious training when we reflect that this confusion of knowledge with education has penetrated into every branch of art. The best painter is he who discourses most learnedly about the *cuisine* of his art. The best singer is one most learned in the anatomy of the mechanism by which voice is produced, like :

“The young lady from Brussels,
When they asked, ‘Can you sing?’
She said, ‘My! What a thing!
But I can tell a whole lot about muscels.’”

All teaching — even the teaching of art — is tinctured with the fallacy that it must be scientific. The case of music will serve for purposes of illustration. In a recent book upon the subject it is asserted that “modern methods contain not one single topic of any value whatever in the training of the voice.” As an acute reviewer has observed, this is the language of a charlatan, or of one who believes that all are charlatans save himself; and yet it is worth examining the ground of the assertion. Italy was the cradle of music, and even if we accept the comment of Hans von Bülow as true, that it remained the cradle, inasmuch as the overture, the symphony, the opera, and the oratorio, which originated there, came to their full development only in other countries, we are yet obliged to admit that in the creation of singers Italy has never been surpassed. These old masters had no method whatever. They had certain precepts which they regarded as essential: singing on the breath, opening the throat, singing the tune at the lips, and supporting the tone. These things they learned by experience. “Listen to

me, and do as I do," was their maxim. The old Italian master, Pier Tosi, declared that the only way to learn to sing was to listen to singers, and that was better than any instruction whatsoever. Of a somewhat similar tenor is the advice of my colleague, Wesley Mills, that pupils should hear the best singers, note the quality of their tones, and imitate those qualities with their own voices. Accordingly imitation is the rational method of learning to sing.

But in 1855 Manuel Garcia invented the laryngoscope, and forthwith the teaching of singing became scientific. Pupils were taught anatomy, acoustics, and mechanics instead of being shown how to sing. Not only is such teaching useless, it is fatal to the production of music, since it attempts to do consciously what can be done only unconsciously. Throat stiffness is the result, and that is what all teaching aims to overcome. The only way to learn to do a thing is to do it. Garcia was the first of the scientific teachers of singing, and yet he was never done protesting that he was not a surgeon, but a singer; Charles Santley, "the exponent of all that is virile and sincere in the art of song," quoting the dictum of an old master, declared that it was better for his pupils that they should not be aware that they had

throats, except for the purpose of swallowing their food. There is in this a sound principle of physiology. Even the swallowing of food may become difficult when attention is centred upon the process; an act which is automatic is inhibited. The training of the ear is one half the training of the voice; the training of the boy is the whole of education. In both cases it must be done unconsciously.

A problem which is difficult may sometimes be solved by reducing it to simpler terms. Many of the habits of men may be explained by an examination of the conduct of the lower animals. For example, the practice of shaking hands is really an investigation by means of the sense of touch instead of by the sense of smell, which was developed after the wearing of clothes had rendered the earlier method difficult or impossible; and the utility of clothing was discovered as a result of its employment for purposes of adornment. In the female this decorative motive still persists, as Mr. Spencer has observed; and he reminds us specifically that "the elaborate dressings of the hair, the still occasional use of paint, the immense labour bestowed in making habiliments sufficiently attractive, and the great discomfort that will be submitted to for the sake of conformity,

show how greatly, in the attiring of women, the desire of approbation overrides the desire for warmth and convenience."

But in the attempt to discover the true principles of education by the comparative or anthropological method we must guard against the danger which lurks in all analogy. This method assumes an orderly development from the lowest of created beings to the highest, and takes no notice of the possibility that humanity may be what the biologists designate as a sport, that is, a result of a sudden and spontaneous variation from the normal type. Upon this fundamental question there are two opinions which are exactly contrary, and both cannot be right. From the beginning of created beings there has certainly been some change in the status and nature of man; but whether for better or worse, the authorities are not in agreement. Sir W. M. Ramsay and St. Paul, many of whose comments upon natural phenomena were based upon observation which must have been less exact than it would be to-day, thought it was for the worse. Professor MacBride, after a survey of the creation covering a period of 300,000 years, thinks it is for the better. Until this matter is cleared up by the professional divines, we cannot infer from the effect of

education upon a monkey or a seal what it would be upon a boy.

And yet there is something suggestive in observing the conduct of a seal which is taught to beat a drum, or of a monkey which is taught to sew pieces of cloth together. There are two tests of the utility of that process by which these animals are educated to undertake these performances, the effect upon their own character, and the benefit to the world at large. These are also the tests which must finally be applied for determining the value of the education of boys. It is inconceivable that the capacity to beat a drum would be of any immediate advantage to the seal if he were cast back into his native waters. On the contrary, his experience of the public stage, public favour, and applause would probably make his old surroundings distasteful. The apprehension felt by the framers of the report upon University education for working-people to which I have referred would probably be justified in the case under consideration. Their ominous words are: "We cannot conceal from ourselves that there are certain dangers on account of the possible risk that the working-classes might be carried off their feet by the social life of Oxford and forget their own people."

It is imaginable that after generations of edu-

cation the animal might utilize his ability to beat a drum to attract fishes to his maw, to obtain an easier sustenance, to increase his social status, to win the admiration and respect of his fellows, to overcome by his superior attainments the stolidity, perseverance, and doggedness of one rival, the cunning of another. Although we have now come close to the borders of folly, we have arrived at an explanation of the universal practice of sending a boy to school, namely that he shall be elevated from the working-class into the exploiting-class. The native East Indian is the great exponent of this principle. He says quite frankly that his object in going to school is to rid himself of the necessity of toiling with his hands. The remedy which is proposed by persons who never have done a full day's work with their hands is to inculcate the dignity of labour. The cure for that form of cant is five hours' work at some uncongenial task, a coarse bite in the shelter of a hedge or factory, and then five hours more, with the prospect of receiving thirty shillings or its equivalent at the end of a week, and public charity at the end of a life of such labour. Handiwork has always been regarded as identical with, or but little removed from, slavery. In olden times men avoided it by entering the ranks of the clerics or

going to the wars. Now they strive to emancipate their boys by sending them to school, resolute that they shall not continue to endure the yoke and the additional responsibility of free men to support themselves when they can work no longer. It is not surprising, then, that the workman sends his boy to school as the first step towards compelling others to toil for his support.

Or we might arrive at the principles of education by a historical enquiry into the methods which were employed in a simpler society than our own ; and that is a labour to which professors of education might well apply themselves. The school is a late product of civilization and a sign of the complexity of life. In the outset the child was educated in the home and instructed in all those principles which would serve to make a man of him. The Indians of North America retained this system of education down to modern times, and so efficient was it that it enabled a band of warriors, so trained and numbering not three thousand, to dominate a continent. They were men of character, though it must seem merely an echo from a teachers' convention, that education consists in the formation of that. Until our own day schools were employed merely as useful adjuncts to the home, where perfection might be

attained in the lesson of obedience. In time, advantage was taken of those years of leisure to give to boys some information which was of interest and might possibly be useful at some future time. Eventually the good word "schooling" was wrested from its original meaning and came to signify a process of receiving instruction. Knowledge and knowing was expected to accomplish everything, and it was entirely forgotten that learning must be assimilated and made part of life. The boy was to be made into a kind of reasoning-machine somewhat after the fashion of that new device which one may see in a butcher's shop, which will weigh your meat and calculate the price at the same time. It was shrewdly observed that this process was useful in equipping a boy for getting on in the world, and the product of these schools went forth conquering and to conquer.

Henceforth instruction was the thing. Knowledge came to be regarded as the ideal of attainment, and education was forced into its shy retreat. The best example which I can offer of what this system, when pushed to a conclusion, will do for a boy's nature, is the case of John Stuart Mill. This grandson of a Scotch shoemaker was brought up after the most straitest sect of the doctrine of instruction. By the twelfth year of

his age he had acquired a volume of learning which requires many pages of his autobiography to describe. He had read with a high degree of thoroughness, according to his own account, nearly all the Greek and Latin writings which are extant, and obtained some mastery over the subtleties of algebra, the calculus, and other portions of the higher mathematics. His mind was fashioned into a reasoning-machine so complete in its operation that even his father was satisfied with the results of his handiwork. And yet it was the impression of various persons that they found him "greatly and disagreeably conceited." Notwithstanding these attainments, in his twentieth year he was "left stranded at the commencement of his voyage with a well-equipped ship but no sail." The fountains of benevolence seemed completely dried up, and he passed "a melancholy winter of heavy dejection." The spirit had gone out of his mental exercises; his real education began only when he came under the ministration of a human being.

All those useful arts of life, which in olden times were acquired unconsciously in the home, are now taught in the school in a clumsy way,—the correct employment of the visiting-card, the limits within which the invitation may be issued, the relation which should exist between the *chaperone*, on the one hand, and the *débutante* and the

youth, on the other, the advance without shyness, and retreat without appearance of humiliation. The real virtues which might be developed in the home are lost under this thin veneer which is furnished by the schools.

III

So here we are, the high aim of education abandoned, the Universities of America frankly teaching trades, the Universities of England casting away their tradition of learning, its preservation and advancement, and yet too timid to accept the American ideal in its entirety. The consensus in England and in the United States now is that we must have a new education, and that it is in Germany we shall find it. In England there shall be less classics, in the United States more science. The Germans are not afraid of conclusions which are the result of a logical process. We in our philosophy, education, and politics always stop short of the inevitable end. Accordingly we propose for ourselves a system which shall include a little classics, a little science, and a little technical training, educating the boy by books and teaching him a trade at the same time. We have been trying with rather inconclusive results to train the mind which no man has seen : let us now deal with the body which we can see.

The German method has produced remarkable results, but that does not prove that it would be equally well adapted to our needs, even if it were possible to adopt it in its entirety. We should as well expect that we could successfully engraft upon our individualistic and lawless natures a system of rigid militarism. And yet, looking deeper, we may discover that forty years ago it was to Germany we went in search of a love for the ideal and a reverence of fact, for a high, and austere, and disinterested view of life. To inculcate the value of these things was Germany's work in the world, wrought out by her unworldly professors, her authors dazzling with the brilliancy of their ideas, her scientists consumed with the pure love of knowledge, and her philosophers whose thought ranged over the whole of human life and aspired upward to a knowledge of God. Shorn of her spiritual strength, Germany sits to-day, a blind giant, toiling in the mill for the benefit of any Philistine who requires meanness and cheapness. Forty years of commercial education has wrought this change in character, and made of the Germans the tinkers of Europe, the bagmen of the world, the supple traders who do not disdain the language of the Hottentot, if only a bill of goods may be sold thereby. To-day, German science

and learning have surrendered themselves to the vindication of brute force over moral ideals.

So soon as the discovery was made that the minds of boys were not much improved by the process known as education, attention was turned to their bodies, and various systems of physical exercise were introduced. At first these exercises were done in a hard, mechanical way, and succeeded only in producing an abnormal musculature without educating the system to a coördination and control of the various groups of muscles for the performance of useful acts. The owners developed into the type of the professional athlete in whom hypertrophy was gained at the expense of elasticity, competent to perform certain muscular feats whereby the system became still more rigid and incapable of acquiring new habits. Even to-day in the American schools it is common to see pupils with the bodies of men and the minds of boys as a result of persistent exercises which are divorced from utility. This cult of the body is not new either. The Greeks educated the body; but their object was the attainment of the perfection of beauty and a heightened perception of it. Our object appears to be to produce athletes for the adornment of the drawing-room.

The Germans have made the simple discovery

that a boy who is destined to become a barber requires a different training from that which is suitable for a boy who is to become a physician. But we are not so brutal as that. The American theory in the past has been that all boys shall be given an equal opportunity by handicapping them equally with the loss of eight years spent in school, learning something useful, which in the end has turned out to be useless for any purpose whatever. The futility of the old method has been so clearly apprehended that there is now a strong resolution to modify or replace it by a technical training. In this new education also lurks the fallacy of utilitarianism and the paradox that he who seeks shall not find.

If we could see steadily that all education is one, though there be many roads to it, we should find a way out. But if of technical education we erect a system obviously and nakedly designed to make of a boy a more subservient tool, a less reluctant part of the machine which we have created for ourselves, the last state will be worse than the first. If our direct aim is not to make the individual more sensitive, more beautiful even, but consciously to attempt to make him more efficient, better qualified for his job, we shall end by treating him as if he were a jack-plane or a

chisel. If he is elected to turn a screw-driver for the remainder of his days, only the *supinator longus* muscle shall be developed: all else would be an obvious waste of time. Possibly it would be an advantage that a man who operates only one machine in a shop shall be taught to operate a machine of a different kind; so that, when he is out of work in one department he may have resort to another, or when a strike occurs the employer shall have a diversity of gifts at his disposal.

This low view is a very common one, which looks to increased efficiency as part of a machine without any reference to the education of the man; and this is the fallacy which lurks at the root of that technical education in which all English-speaking people now believe that safety lies. Therefore our boys shall have in addition to their books a few weeks' course in plumbing, in plastering, in carpentry, who have never held a tool in their hands, and they are to work in a disdainful, dilettante way, as if they are not in reality plumbers, plasterers, and carpenters, but shall cast off the character which they are assuming when they shed their overalls and put on their white shirts.

Upon the value of this kind of technical edu-

cation we may gain some opinion if we revert to the image of the seal. If we were to put him in an aquarium and teach him to secure his food, we should have an analogue of the boy in a technical school. There are no observations, so far as I am aware, upon the results of the method; but possibly the professor would be wasting his own time and the time of the seal, probably doing him an injury by creating the impression in his mind that the agility he was acquiring in leaping for dead fish would be of equal value when he was obliged to find food for himself. The way to learn to do a thing is to do it, and that is as true for boys as it is for singers and for seals.

Whatever the State does, it does badly. Its propagation of religion ended in failure. Its attempt at education has not succeeded, and all persons must be in agreement that the system which is now in vogue has had a fair test. In England and Wales, during the year 1907, only one-and-a-half per cent of men and women who married were incapable of signing the register. In 1840 the percentage was 33 for men and 50 for women. The fabric which we have erected is so vast, and its failure would be so appalling, we refuse to admit that there are signs of decay and that it must come to the ground. The remedy for this form of

foolishness is that we should look at the facts. Men who are concerned about keeping the business of the world moving are aware of them, and by actual experience of life they have arrived at the same conclusion as Montaigne when he declared: "Those which according to one common fashion undertake with one self-same lesson and like manner of education to direct many spirits of diverse forms and different humours, it is no marvel if among a multitude of children they scarce meet with two or three that reap any good fruit by their discipline or that come to any perfection."

The machinery of society has outgrown the capacity to manage it. Those in control are calmly ignoring all that has been done by the State, and are now engaged in organizing a system of education of their own. Of this I shall offer one illustration.

At a meeting of the American Railway Master Mechanics' Association held in 1907, education was the principal subject of discussion. This Association is composed of 1,000 members representing all the railways in America. They have in their immediate employ 400,000 men. They have charge of the design, construction, and repair of all the railway rolling-stock in America. Their philoso-

phy of education in the abstract may not be as illuminating as Plato's; but their opinion upon the kind of training which will make boys adapted to their environment must have a very high value. The short of the matter is that they have established schools of their own in their own works, where boys are taught reading, writing, and arithmetic as preliminary to a special training in the designing, making, and working of machines.

In commenting upon this system, Professor Hibbard of Cornell, himself "engaged in the professional business of education," said, "The bare fact of the establishment of this course is a severe arraignment of public school education." The New York Central Lines was the first to initiate the movement in 1900, under the suggestion of Mr. J. F. Deems, and the management of Mr C. W. Cross and Mr. W. B. Russel. Since that time it has extended to the Canadian Pacific Railway under Mr. H. H. Vaughan, to the Santa Fé, the Union Pacific, the Southern Pacific, the Central of New Jersey, the Delaware and Hudson, and the Michigan Central; and, as Mr. Cross affirmed, the day is not far distant when each railroad will have a system of its own. One of the members made the acute observation that the only other place where an efficient system of education was in vogue

was in the State Reformatory for boys who had been fortunate enough to commit a crime against the laws of the people. At the Convention of 1908, a committee reported that this new system was the most important influence introduced into railroad organization during the present generation. This is the exact antithesis of technical training. The schools are brought into the shops by private enterprise instead of the shops being brought into the schools by public subsidy. The practical and theoretical are so thoroughly united that "the grease of the shop is literally rubbed into the lesson sheets."

In quite this fashion were those craftsmen educated who built the pyramids, the Parthenon, and the cathedrals of Europe; and we must admit that the results were fairly satisfactory, especially when we reflect upon our own achievements in the building line during the past five hundred years. All work is one, and there is no essential distinction between work and play. A professional golf player is believed to have joy in his work, and yet his occupation is no different from that of the man who has been trained from his youth upward to stand upon the steel framework of a bridge and place with swiftness, accuracy, and force successive blows of a long-handled

hammer upon the head of a red-hot rivet. One of the best amateur golf-players I ever knew was so trained, and he informed me that both occupations gave him the same delight.

A boy who is to practise a craft cannot begin too soon, if he is to make it a part of himself. He must begin early, when his muscular sense is easily impressed, and qualify himself not for any one work, but for all work. Then he will perform all tasks with joy. Those precious years of youth our boys spend in schools with books, striving to develop a mind which is not there to develop, and allowing a body to lie idle until it has become too fixed to acquire a habit as part of itself. Our workmen are as inefficient as they are because they have never learned a trade, never impressed it upon their muscular sense, never made it a part of themselves. They are amateurs, and will never be anything else, no matter how long they may continue to exercise their calling.

Those schools for young children, in which instructive diversions, object-lessons, and healthful games are prominent features, have their use as a protest if not as a fulfilment. Froebel was right in his attempt to give to children employment suited to their years and nature, to strengthen their bodies, exercise their senses, employ the

waking mind, make them acquainted with nature, cultivate especially the heart and temper, and lead them to the foundation of all living — unity with themselves. But in time the garden of children was transformed into a school-room, where an immature woman presides over such employments as plaiting straw and singing about the bluebird on the branch. The technical training of which so much is heard is already falling to a similar level. A grown boy is set to making a rolling-pin ; and if he shows unusual aptitude for the task, his product is bedecked with a ribbon and suspended in the family sitting-room.

The master mechanics have given us a hint ; but being actuated not by philanthropy but by business, they cannot take boys at a sufficiently early age or give to them the consideration proper to tender years. If the public funds which are now bestowed upon schools were handed over to railway corporations or other bodies of men equally intelligent, they could receive boys of eight years of age, train their bodies not for one work but for all work, and by training their bodies train their minds. Books are composed of words, and words are a poor substitute for things. A boy who really masters a proposition about angles in Euclid has learned to think straight. With a

saw and a mitre-box he learns to think straight, to do straight, and he learns about angles besides. He acquires self-control and mastery by striving with material wood to convert square into round by means of cutting-tools, by subduing iron with fire and file, and by compelling the earth to yield fruit after its kind. By converting ugliness into beauty with colour and form he has learned the first lesson in art. All boys would then be trained muscularly, intellectually, and æsthetically up to the limit of the capacity of the individual. The law of natural selection would have free play, and from this sure ground the boy could proceed according to his bent of mind and become craftsman, scholar, scientist, or artist, and excel as any one.

From this *studium generale* each pupil would proceed to the task for which by nature he was designed. The tragedy of life does not lie in the essential unworthiness of the individual, but in his unfitness for his environment, in his relative inefficiency and consequent joylessness. Men are occupying pulpits who would make splendid figures as pugilists or, if they lived in the olden times, as pirates on their own quarter-decks. Through a disinterested love of art men are painting pictures which the world does not want, when they might

be skilled workmen, master craftsmen, putting life and beauty into the things of daily need and winning for themselves independence, content, and joy.

The reason the art of our own time is sterile is because it is apart from life and divorced from utility. The history of æsthetics teaches us that a fine craftsmanship underlies art, and that artists are bred only from a race of craftsmen. If we train the craftsmen, the artist will take care of himself. When we learn that the sculptor is fellow to the stone-cutter we shall have good craftsmen engaged in pleasurable, gainful, and pleasing employments, instead of bad artists lacking in creative power. Accordingly each boy, as Rousseau advises, "should learn an honest trade, not, therefore, that of embroiderer, gilder, tailor, musician, comedian, or writer, but the trade of a carpenter," for example. The idolatrous worship of uniformity which has been substituted for the true knowledge of education is worse than a condition of universal ignorance of all but that which individual experience teaches.

It is, of course, a convenience that a craftsman should be able to read and to write, that he should have some knowledge of the process by which numbers are added, subtracted, multiplied, and

divided; and nature has indicated the time during which such information could most conveniently be acquired, if it has not already been acquired unconsciously. In the mental development of every boy there occurs a period of unusual stupidity lasting about two years. It extends as a rule from the thirteenth to the fifteenth year, and might well be utilized for a more formal instruction by means of books. Such a process would relegate words to their proper position. Having failed to apprehend that education may come through the avenue of other senses than the eyes, we have laid too much stress upon the value of reading. The educative value of the process depends somewhat upon what one reads, but the main result of shortening workmen's hours of labour is that they have more time to read the newspapers. The pleasure which every child and most men derive from a book is physical, not mental. The contrast of the black letters upon the white page, the arrangement of letters in words of unequal length, the contexture of words in lines, sentences, and paragraphs exercises a curious fascination when perceived by the eye. This phenomenon is not peculiar to the child alone, but is observed amongst other animals. If a hen be placed upon its back so that its eyes are

fixed upon a white line, it will lie entranced in that position. A cat may have its whole attention absorbed by a piece of coloured glass, and nothing is more common than the hypnotic effect which is produced upon hospital patients by a shifting, shining object upon which they are directed to fix their gaze. The main object of reading, then, is to distract the attention, to divert the mind; but the mind which has never dwelt upon any subject whatever does not require distraction or diversion.

It is only by this means that we can attain to a civilization once more, by each one doing his own work and doing it well, by going about it quietly all the days of his life. A man who is a rail-splitter or a tanner by nature and environment will not split rails or tan hides well if to-morrow he expects to be called upon to preside over the councils of a nation. By this continual eruption of material from the lower strata our society is in a condition of surge and tumult and cannot clarify itself. We have been proclaiming that all men are free. If we were to declare that all men are slaves, we should solve our social problem and be stating the truth besides. If the labourer who digs in the street could but understand that the physician who drives by in his carriage, the rich man

who strives to look unconscious in his motor-car, or the woman who passes in all the pomp of the afternoon, are hedged about as straitly as himself, he would begin to do his work with content and end by doing it with joy. All work is the same. None is more menial than another. Indeed a physician performs daily for no reward offices from which the meanest servant would turn with scorn and loathing. He is educated, and sees the meaning of what he does. He does his work deftly and takes a pleasure in the doing of it.

In our time we have tried many experiments based upon an assumed analogy between ourselves and other members of the animal creation. We have returned to Nature. We have eaten unbolted flour. We have subsisted upon vegetables alone. We have chewed our food to an infinity of attrition. We have clothed ourselves and have gone naked. We have abstained from alcohol or stayed away from church. We have remained idle or compelled others to work. We have read the newspapers. We have voted. We have educated ourselves; and although our natures may have changed somewhat in the comparatively few years during which we have authentic record of our past career, probably it would be a safe guess, that we change so slowly, that the statement is

true for all practical purposes, that we do not change, just as the formula "two and two make four" is sufficiently accurate for casting up an account. Until we have a new breed of boys we can well do without a "new education," and have resort to the old method which was in vogue during the childhood of the race.

This method is, in truth, the one for which I plead. It is not new. It is that "complete and generous education that fits a man to perform justly, skilfully, and magnanimously all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war." It is as near as town-dwellers may come to that which many a boy has received to perfection in a country home with its multifarious occupation, brought up by intelligent, well-to-do, and godly parents with the assistance of a good schoolmaster armed with a short stick or a dichotomous piece of leather.

It does not lie within the narrow compass of the essay, with its rigid bounds and difficult form, even to indicate the detail of a plan. I cannot, however, refrain from adding one last word : that such a system would lend itself admirably to the creation of that love of country which is called patriotism by inculcating the obligation of defending it; it would harden the habits into morality and develop the feelings of submission and de-

pendence into good manners and religion. In such schools boys might be "stirred up with high hopes of living to be brave men, and worthy patriots, dear to God"; of those exercises they would have an abundance, "which keep them healthy, nimble, strong, and well in breath, which being tempered with precepts of true fortitude and patience will turn into a national valour and make them hate the cowardice of doing wrong"; and "in those vernal seasons of the year, when the air is calm and pleasant," they would not indulge in that "injury and sullenness against nature not to go out and see her riches, and partake in her rejoicing with heaven and earth." That was the practice in the Greek schools. The pupils were trained to fear the gods, to honour their heroes, to speak the truth, to defend their native land. We may well compare this rich and miscellaneous grazing with "that asinine feast of sowthistle and brambles which is commonly set before them as all the food and entertainment of their tenderest and most docile age," especially in the schools of the United States and of Canada.

The subject of education is peculiarly rich in paradox. Those who seek it will not find it. The boy who is taught to snatch his piece and run, who contrives his work that it may produce the

most effect and make the best show, who chooses the thing which serves his immediate purpose visibly, becomes unconsciously insincere and unwittingly selfish. The essence of education is unconsciousness. The pursuit of culture ends in pedantry or pretence, as the pursuit of happiness ends in cynicism or misery, as the pursuit of office makes of a man a politician. Nothing that is sought is worth the having when it is found. "Seek and ye shall find" is a favourite inscription for display in the school-room. Rather would one write, "Seekest thou great things for thyself? Seek them not."

THE FALLACY IN THEOLOGY

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I

I AM not insensible to the humour of the situation in which I have chosen to involve myself, expounding for the benefit of theologians the fallacy which lies in their theology ; and yet I cannot rid myself of the remembrance that theologians have their humours too.

In the days of their mediæval greatness, when they assembled with hieratic pomp for the disputation of questions which were so serious for them and of so little concern to us, it was the custom to appoint a *filius terræ*, a child of the earth, whose function it was with gibe and jest to remind those honoured ones that all human glory is destined to perish. In assuming this congenial character, I shall neither resent the taunt nor disclaim the credit that this self-election to the humble office of speaking as a fool has been done with perspicacity.

If we relied entirely upon research in a dictionary, we should say that theology was merely talk about God, as literature is talk about life, in which the talkers are more concerned about the

manner of saying than with the thing itself. Comment upon life is mistaken for life, as a theory of God is substituted for God. But what do theologians imagine theology to be, and whom shall we put forward to speak for his fellows? The name of John Knox leaps to the mind instinctively, but he would involve us in needless controversy; and if we gave place to Cotton Mather, another favourite, he would be sure to say something foolish, though he would say it in excellent language.

Repressing these predilections, let us enquire of Cardinal Newman what theology is. This selection of spokesman is a concession to fairness, because Cardinal Newman speaks with sincerity, well and clear. Also he has other specific qualifications for the office which may be cited by way of credentials. "From the age of fifteen," he writes in that great apology for his life, "dogma has been the fundamental principle of my religion; I know no other religion; I cannot enter into the idea of any other sort of religion; religion, as a mere sentiment, is to me a dream and mockery." To complete the category of his credentials for the office of public exponent, we may add one further affirmation: "I loved to act as feeling myself in my bishop's sight as if it were the sight of God." Bishops at least will agree that Cardinal Newman

has spoken in the proper theological spirit, and that the selection is not unwise.

“By theology,” in his “Second Discourse,” our witness affirms, “I simply mean the science of God, or the truths we know about God, put into a system, just as we have a science of the stars and call it astronomy, or of the crust of the earth and call it geology.” That is a plain definition. The men of science took the theologian at his word. The astronomers and geologists welcomed him to their ranks; but they insisted that he should employ the scientific method. Their interest lay not in what he said, but in what he could prove according to the principles which he chose to adopt. That was not asking too much. His attempt to make God a subject of scientific speculation ended in failure. Nothing was proven.

This was the last and fatal stand of the theologians. They took into their hands the carnal weapon of science; they perished by it. That has ever been the result when the sword of the spirit was abandoned for other means of contest. The employment of science in matters of the spirit has succeeded no better than the employment of force or political device.

To us in these days the marvel is not the splendour of the “Apologia” which Newman made,

but that it should have had to be written at all; that, in short, he should have felt there was anything to apologize for. If to him "the *jure divino* was the voice of my bishop in his own person," he should not have been put to the question, and compelled to asseverate that he "scorned and detested lying, and quibbling, and double-tongued practice, and slyness, and cunning, and smoothness, and cant, and pretence." The reason for this present-day toleration is not far to seek. The number of theologians is inconsiderable who protest, as Newman did in his "Lyra Apostolica," that "it would be a gain to the country were it vastly more superstitious, more bigoted, more gloomy, more fierce in its religion, than at present it shows itself to be."

Conduct of this nature was provocative of "atheism" in the minds of the scientists; and it is worth remarking that the last atheist disappeared with the last theologian. I have not seen one these thirty years, with the single exception of a village shoemaker last summer, who appeared to combine in himself the characteristics of both. I should add that, upon further enquiry, this humble person turned out to be nothing more than a "free-thinker"; that is, he thought about things as freely as his limited intelligence would permit,

and the opprobrious epithet was fastened to him because he protested that religion did not consist in submission to ecclesiastical authority. What made the situation more perplexing was that this anomalous person was a man of good behaviour, of great boldness in his faith, especially apt to teach, — indeed possessing those qualities which are specifically commended in a bishop or deacon.

During the present generation this delusion that science has something to do with religion has wrought havoc in the lives of men, on account of the previous assumption that theology had something essential to do with religion. The theologians had reason to fear that the report of a Commission appointed to study the formation of the earth and the animals which dwell upon it might be at variance with the account which was given by early Hebrew writers. Their theology was based upon a tradition which was hard to distinguish from a legend. Religion was inextricably bound up with theology, and based with it upon the crust of the earth instead of in the hearts of men. Their science turned out to be false ; and we must not blame the scientists too severely for concluding that their theology was as false as their science, or for casting suspicion upon religion, their compulsory ally.

These ruthless investigators were put under the ban. They endured the penalty with apparent nonchalance. Living in an age when the Erastian doctrine of state supremacy in ecclesiastical matters was sufficiently established to prevent the fires being lighted in this world at least, and taking advantage of the lack of certainty which exists about the arrangements for the punishment of obduracy in the next, they hardened their hearts and declared that men could get along very well without religion. When the pressure was lifted, this fallacy also disproved itself. A scientist may now be as religious as he likes, and no aspersion be cast upon his knowledge by the scientists, nor upon his religion by the theologians.

Science is not the only thing of importance in the world. Let us not, however, think more lightly of it than we ought; for the study of it has this advantage at least: it promotes a desire for correct opinions, for uprightness of understanding, and is a remedy against the spirit of lying, because a man who devotes his mind to the discovery of facts takes no pleasure in the invention of falsehood. Also it has helped to rid the world of much theological rubbish, so that religion may prevail.

If science had anything to do with religion,

where would the saints appear? To the eyes of Anaxagoras the sun was "a red-hot stone twice as big as Peloponnesus," and to the eyes of Jesus the sun rose every morning. To Paul the universe appeared as a three-storeyed edifice. The lowest storey was the realm of the dead. Upon it was erected the terrestrial world, and over it the heavens with their inhabitants. Heaven was a series of arched domes superimposed one upon another, and, as we are informed elsewhere, containing many mansions. He had visited the third of these heavens. In this world evil spirits were hovering about, and they were so susceptible to female beauty that women were obliged to veil their faces as a protection for themselves and for the evil spirits as well.

Cardinal Newman, who aspired to create a scientific theology which would rank with geology and astronomy, had a poor equipment for the task. His views of cosmology were as primitive as those which were taught in the schools of Alexandria. Angels, he considered, were employed to carry on the economy of the visible world, and were the real causes of motion, light, and life, and of those elementary principles which are called the laws of nature. Besides the hosts of evil spirits, his system made provision for a middle race, *δαιμόνια*,

neither in heaven nor in hell ; partially fallen, capricious, wayward ; noble or crafty, benevolent or malicious, as the case might be. These beings, he thought, gave a sort of intelligence to races, nations, and classes of men ; and so he accounted for the varying character of states and governments. He found confirmation of this view in the mention of "the Prince of Persia" in the prophecy of Daniel, and of "the angels of the seven churches" in the Apocalypse. Newman was a grown man when he made these bold speculations, and a further development of the doctrine was completed in 1837, at a time when he was thirty-six years of age. If the scientific men of his time were concerned at all with these notions, they must have thought them extremely silly, and have placed an equally low degree of credibility upon his exposition of the nature of God, when it was attempted by the methods of the astronomers and geologists, which he showed himself so incapable of employing. To us the lesson is that a man may be religious and be devoid of both science and common sense.

A scientific conception of the Universe has nothing to do with faith, nor with goodness and greatness of character : "*Le cœur a ses raisons que le raison ne connaît pas.*" Accuracy of opinion

has nothing to do with religion and little with conduct. False opinions may be exchanged mechanically for true opinions, without in the least altering the habit of mind by which false opinions are produced.

Newman had a small mind. He devotes four pages of his "Apologia" to recording a tiresome correspondence between himself, young men, their uncles, and their bishops; and eventually it turned out that the whole bother was due to the fact that "an anxious lady had said something or other which had been misinterpreted against her real meaning." These were the people who were circulating new and ascetic opinions in the Common Rooms of Oxford when Froude left, and new perambulators in the parks when he returned. But Newman's real defect was his preoccupation over his own soul. At all hazards he was bound to save it. That is the egoism which Jesus rebuked with the words: He that loseth his life shall find it. This lack of humanity is the mark of that class of theologians which we are for the moment considering, and it ends in that form of hatred and cruelty which is known specifically as *odium theologicum*. All sin, if tracked to its ultimate lair, will be found in cruelty, which is a much deeper saying than appears from a view of the

surface. Cruelty is the besetting sin of the lesser theologian. It is that which has always qualified him for a seat in the Sanhedrim, and for the sacred office of the Inquisition.

We can always get some light upon a witness from the men whom he admires and the qualities upon which that admiration is based. Newman was "in the closest and most affectionate friendship" with Richard Hurrell Froude, and refers to "the gentleness and tenderness of nature, the playfulness, the free elastic force and graceful versatility of his mind." Mr. Herbert Paul furnishes us with some fine examples of this "playfulness" of Hurrell Froude in the treatment of his young brother, whom we know as James Anthony. He would take the lad by the heels and stir with his head the mud at the bottom of a pond. He threw him out of a boat, and with fine theological intuition persuaded him that a certain wood was haunted by a devil. Hurrell and his archidiaconal father joined forces in beating the boy because he would not admit the truth of a false charge, and threatened him with continued repetitions until he should confess. To a more humane generation this behaviour does not appear to be mere "playfulness," but rather the conduct of "superstitious, bigoted, gloomy, fierce" men,

whom to possess, Cardinal Newman supposed was to the country so great a gain. Following the advice of Paul, these theologians looked into their own hearts for proof of the existence of God, and there they found the spirit of hatred which they attributed to Him. God created man: men retort by creating God.

The theologians are much like the logicians. They take an event in human experience and reflect upon it. The logicians discovered that a man may come to a correct conclusion by a process of reasoning, and they proceeded to examine the steps by which he arrived. Eventually they devised a series of names and a system of formulæ; and protested that no man could arrive at a correct conclusion unless he followed their directions. The logician made the unwarranted inference that he was the epitome of reasoning humanity with his magical devices, whilst in reality he was a bar to fresh perception. But in our own time men who were ignorant of the apparatus of the logicians attained to definite conclusions in quite other fashion upon such matters as the formation of the earth's crust and the evolution of the animals which inhabit it. The fabric of formal reasoning fell to the ground to make way for the coördination of successive perceptions of actual things.

The theologians and their allies the ecclesiastics also went too far in applying human logic to divine affairs, and mistook themselves for God, sitting in the temple and shewing themselves that they were God. But they too were rudely jolted from their high place when men discovered anew that God may be found without their intervention, by all who seek diligently in the spirit of truth. By this short cut they were put upon one side.

The form of society which we know as modern had its origin at the time when men began to popularize what had been regal, to civilize what had been military, to laicize what had been clerical. That great movement which with some degree of vagueness is called the Reformation, was a protest of the laity against ecclesiasticism, and not a contest for the superiority of any rival set of dogmas. The Renaissance was something more than a protest against ecclesiastical Christianity: it was a frank revival of Paganism. In the nineteenth century the great movement was the divorce of science from both theology and ecclesiasticism; but the process of laicization is not yet complete, and many anomalies remain. Of these, one example will serve for Protestants and Catholics alike. We still hold to the tradition that

none but the clergy can read and write. In the olden times a criminal might escape the penalty of his crime by pleading that he was a cleric. In time this righteousness was imputed to all who had some rudiments of book-learning; and to this day the idea persists that there is something in the personality and office of an ecclesiastic which qualifies him for a seat upon a school-board.

One who occupies his leisure with the reading of theology will not necessarily attain to any unusual knowledge of God; but he will get a fine understanding of theologians, because they are more commonly speaking of one another than of God, and not always in the most complimentary terms. The words liar, innovator, traitor, rogue, robber, murderer, are frequently in their mouths. I am not saying that these epithets are lacking in definitive value. They are accurately descriptive, when applied to men whose forgeries lie upon every page of the two Testaments, who polluted that well of truth, who falsified the words of Jesus, and wrested his meaning to their own ends.

Traditional theology was an attempt to investigate the nature of God by sheer force of human reason, in much the same way that Plato recom-

mended that astronomy be studied, without even looking at the heavens. It was not long before these theologians abandoned all thought of getting near to the heart of God in the task of disclosing their own natures to the world. Their opinions were dictated by hatred. Their decisions, when they assembled in conclave, were often determined by political considerations. Their devices were the outcome of conspiracy, and they had no compunction about altering them secretly before they were promulgated, if occasion demanded. Many an opinion of the "early fathers" and of the "early church" was fabricated in the chambers of women and in the cabinets of politicians, who were no more scrupulous then than they are now.

For purposes of illustration we may select the last of the eighteen ecumenical Councils, commonly known as the Council of Trent, which condemned the doctrines of the Reformation concerning the Bible, original sin, and justification. I shall follow the account of Bishop Stubbs, a historian who may be trusted to write in the true theological spirit, since he accepts the fall of Adam as an event to which political consequences may be traced, and disclaims responsibility for the "infidelities and unbeliefs" with which David

Hume corrupted the Germans, on the ground that the author of them was a Scotchman.

This Council was the means by which the Emperor worked upon the Protestants and the Pope worked upon the Emperor. When the Pope wished to help the Emperor he called the Council. When he wished to thwart him he dismissed it. It did not suit the Pope that the Council should be strong, lest Charles might gain control of it and revive the Council of Basel, and even insist upon Papal responsibility. The Pope did not love the Protestants; yet he was willing to aid them for the sake of injuring the Emperor. Again, he would countenance the Council if for the time being he could score against the Protestants. They, on their part, saw clearly enough that a Council under either Pope or King would be one-sided, and not ecumenic, Teutonic, or national.

Before the Council began, Charles was in arms against the League of Smalkald, each side waiting for a decree to attack or be attacked. Whilst the Council was sitting, Charles gained a success, and the Pope, alarmed at his growing greatness, induced half the Council to adjourn to Bologna, on the pretence that there was danger from the approaching plague. Charles then summoned the Diet at Augsburg to petition the Pope

that a full Council be called. He bargained with the states to receive the Tridentine decrees, releasing one, buying another, and coercing a third. The free cities would accept the decrees only on condition that their own teachers should be heard, and all questions decided by Scripture and primitive tradition.

Even yet the Pope declined to coerce the seceding theologians, and Charles drew up the Interim, which was much like a pronouncement of Henry VIII. This document, it may be added, was drawn up by two Catholics and one nominal Protestant; and disputed points of doctrine were decided by a majority vote. The Spanish army enforced the Interim, and Charles approved the truth of its doctrine by the successful siege of Magdeburg under Maurice of Saxony, who in turn became a traitor to his Emperor. Paul III claimed Parma and Piacenza as the property of the See of Rome; his grandson, Ottavio Farnese, claimed them as his duchy; Charles claimed them as overlord of Milan, and the Pope would not call the Council till this matter was settled. It was all a question of intrigue. When in turn Charles became impotent, the Council adjourned for two years and did not meet for ten. Campaigns in Piedmont and the Netherlands, diets

at Augsburg and Worms, intermissions and recesses, sessions and postponements, the marriage of a Medici or a Farnese, an alliance with Rome, with Venice, or Henry of England, — all this was bound up with a resistance to Solymán the Sultan, and in the end it is strange that Europe remained Christian at all.

Nor should we fail to remember that Paul himself was a very great theologian. His place may be set forth in the following schema: A. Paul. *a.* Paul the apostle; *b.* Saul the theologian. B. Other theologians. In his attempt to convert religion into the terms of logic Paul resorted freely to the methods of those whom I have included in class B. The method of his argument and the temper which he displayed often agreed with theirs. When he had a point to make, he made it in the readiest way. He did not choose to be wise beyond the needs of the case. He would seize any weapon at his hand. Indeed a bad argument is sometimes more effectual than a better and more subtle one, on the principle that a fool is properly answered according to his folly. A coarse jest was his retort upon those who were making such a bother about the necessity for circumcision. A passionate curse he did not disdain: "I have said it before and I repeat it now, if

any one preach another gospel to you, let him be accursed." His favourite oath, "God is my witness," he bestowed freely; and "I lie not" was his common protest. In his calmer moments he was quite willing to avail himself of the finest rabbinical quibble.

Any stick was good enough to beat a Corinthian dog, but when Paul came to deal with the Pharisees and Scribes he was obliged to employ weapons of their own choosing. "Thou fool," was the retort upon the objector at Corinth, who asked the perfectly reasonable question: "How are the dead raised up, and with what body do they come?" This simple method of exegesis would not suffice, if he were to satisfy the subtle theological scepticism which was bred in the schools of Jerusalem. He attacked the schoolmen on their own ground and turned against them their own weapons,—haggadic allegory, and rabbinical evasion, subterfuge, and quibble. When he would convince them that salvation was not for the Jew alone but also for the Gentile, he was capable of employing a casuistry equal to their own. The passage in the letter to the Galatians is characteristic: "Now to Abraham were the promises spoken, and to his seed." From this Paul concludes that "seed" means Christ. If the Jews were meant, the word

would have been seeds, though at the same time he was quite well aware that seed is used in the same sense as offspring ; and he founds his whole argument upon the absence of characters which distinguish the singular from the plural form. Hosea had prophesied that God would put away his people and "call it not my people." In defiance of the true meaning, Paul interprets "not my people " as the heathen, and finds in prophecy a justification of his mission to the Gentiles. Still more disingenuous is the arraignment of the Jews as the children of the handmaid, and not the children of Sarah, who alone were heirs of the promise. The bond-woman, Hagar, was an Arabian. Mount Sinai is in Arabia. Consequently the law given on Sinai was for the children of the slave, because her marriage with the Patriarch signifies the covenant of Sinai. As a final curiosity of his exegesis, he adopts the humane command, "Thou shalt not muzzle the ox which treadeth out the corn," as a warrant for ministers being supported by their congregations.

Sir William Ramsay illustrates very well this capacity of Paul for becoming all things to all men, and writing according to the need of the case. The four South Galatian cities were largely Asiatic, and the idea of freedom was new to them.

It is upon this idea that Paul insists when he writes to them. In his letter to the Galatians, we are told, he uses the words "free," "freedom," "set free," eleven times in six chapters; whilst in the sixteen chapters of which the Epistle to the Romans is composed these words occur only seven times; in the twenty-nine chapters to the Corinthians, eight times; and only twice in the forty-three chapters of his remaining letters. In Rome liberty was well founded. In the Greek cities of Aryan lands liberty had degenerated into licence, and in writing to them, it is upon order, self-restraint, and contentment that Paul insists. This rabbinical method of reasoning would delight the heart of Paul; but he would be quick to detect the fallacy in the argument, namely, that the chapters in these letters are not of equal length. It would be so easy for an opponent to arrive at a contrary conclusion by making a different division of chapters, that the finer method should have been employed of counting the verses, the words, or even the separate characters.

Shall we then be content to live as the beasts live and die as they die? That is the fate which the theologians promise us if we do not adopt some one of their various systems. I take leave to deny that this is the only alternative, and am

bold enough to affirm that they have not made God any clearer to us. On the contrary, they have led us away from Him by the attempt to master the divine reason by human logic. They failed as utterly as those lecherous and quarrelsome knights who were wont to occupy themselves in the quest of the Holy Grail. The failure would have been worse had the attempt succeeded. Worst of all, they barred the only way by which God may be known.

There is a great saying of Joubert's: "It is not hard to know God, provided we do not force ourselves to define Him." An older and greater than Joubert has said: "Love God we rather may than either know him or by speech utter him; and yet had men liefer by knowledge never find that which they seek, than by love possess that thing which also without love were in vain found." A greater than either has said that God may not only be known: He may be seen by the simple device of purity of heart. Not even the theologians can find God by any other method. "*Pour savoir ce qu'il est, il faut être Dieu même*"; and I do not suppose the theologians think us so simple-minded as to believe that they have fulfilled this hard condition.

"Men are never so noble or so base as in their

religion": Principal Fairbairn writes these words in his introduction to Mr. Jordan's "Comparative Study." What he really means by these words, which, as they stand, are false and blasphemous, is that men are never so noble as in their religion, and base men are never so base as in their theology. Religion never makes a man base, but this statement demonstrates the incapacity of the clerical mind to understand the clear distinction between religion and theology.

It is a task only too congenial to Protestants to expatiate upon the evils which were found in the Catholic church of the olden time. The reason they find them there is because that was the only church in existence. If there had been others, evil would surely have been found in them. When I refer to this aspect of the work which theology, organized and buttressed by ecclesiasticism, has done for the world, and mention some of its evils, it is to be understood that I have not in mind the church whose Bishop is in Rome, any more than the church in England, or the church in Scotland. I am not thinking of Catholics, or Presbyterians, or Episcopalians, but of organized ecclesiastical systems. "Not as Frenchmen but as heretics," was the inscription which the Spaniards of St. Domingo placed above the massa-

cred Huguenot garrison. "Not as Spaniards but as murderers," was the retort of Dominique de Gourges when he so adequately avenged this fine exploit of fanaticism. So I speak not of Christianity but of ecclesiasticism interpenetrated by a lifeless theology.

One may expend as much mockery as he pleases upon the pretensions of a theological ecclesiasticism organized by a corporation of priests, since it is mockery their pretensions deserve; he may be forgiven his bitterness of speech by those who reflect upon the evil which it has wrought in the world, and remember those who had in their time cruel mockings and scourging, who were stoned, sawn asunder, slain with the sword, destitute, afflicted, tormented. One who would study the system aright should survey the cross which it erected on Calvary: and he might complete his education in church history by a short visit to the torture-chamber at the Protestant Hague, or to the museum at the Catholic Nuremberg. But worse than all these torturings was the propagation of the belief that it had all to do with religion, and the invention of hell to enforce it. Consequently it was a necessary postulate that humanity is a *massa perditionis*, reserved for burning, and liable to the pains of hell tem-

porarily, if not "for ever." The necessity for adopting a means of prevention is accentuated, and the advantage of any given system is thereby magnified. Men are not so bad as this assumption would make them out to be. If God had himself undertaken the search for righteous men in Sodom instead of entrusting the matter to the Patriarch, the results of the enquiry might not have been so disappointing.

This spirit of persecution is to-day as inseparable from ecclesiasticism as ever it was. One need not be a fierce Erastian to believe that it is only a strong state which can keep a church from resorting to physical force. The Baptists are the only denomination of Christians which has never resorted to persecution; and the late Mr. Spurgeon used to explain the anomaly on the ground that they never got the chance.

In September, 1907, which is in the twentieth century, the head of the Catholic church issued a syllabus of sixty-five propositions which are described as errors. He denounces as false the idea that the church shall not pass judgement upon the natural sciences. He denounces as false the idea that scientific research has the right to refute the facts which the church holds to be undoubted. It is by such conduct as this that the ecclesiastics

have bungled themselves out of every country in Europe, including Scotland. The progress of knowledge will continue and nothing will happen to those who advance it, since we have no longer any regard for the rack and the stake, those two instruments by which in times past divine truth was made to prevail.

II

All this having been said, — everything, in short, which can be said of this view of the case, — the matter is by no means settled. Possibly there lurks in it the fallacy of incomplete statement; and one content with that would justly lay himself open to the charge of being a mocker, a trifler, and more than a semi-liar. It may be that our witness, Cardinal Newman, did not inform us fully.

Only the other day a more modern and greater than Newman said: "Religion cannot be the criterion of scientific truth: each must be criticized by its own principles." A cloud of witnesses overshadows us: Luther protesting that Jesus is his own master, even if Peter or Paul denied it, and Judas, Pilate, or Herod affirmed it; Zwingli declaring that "faith does not depend upon the discretion of men, but has its seat invincibly in the soul"; Calvin attesting that "we must seek

a ground for conviction in something higher than human reasonings, opinions, or conjectures," and that "assurance has a higher sanction than reason, namely, the inward witness of the spirit"; Lessing affirming that "religion has always been and still is proved by its own virtue"; and Pascal, who sums up all in the inimitable words, "it is the heart which is the judge." In religion, as in mathematics, there is no room for testimony or authority. Each proves itself. That is the comment of Auguste Sabatier. Amongst those whom I have cited are certain theologians of repute, Luther, Calvin, Pascal. Possibly the matter is worth investigating further.

No one would think of accusing Professor MacBride of being a theologian; and yet he has felt constrained to declare that our relation to the Great Power enormously transcends in importance the structure of molecules, the causes of radio-activity, or even the laws of heredity, matters which science has taken for its very own. The best theological intellect has always concerned itself with that relation, and it has been the keenest which has ever been applied to human affairs. It realized that its conclusions were provisional. It gave the best explanations it could discover, and had the courage to stand by them as if they

were final. The great theologians had an insoluble problem to solve, and they attacked it boldly, winning praise or blame according as we consider their failure or their success. In all their writings is an undertone of lamentation that they had failed, and a secret joy that they could not succeed. "If God," said Lessing, who was at once dialectician, rationalist, and mystic, "were to offer me in one hand truth, and in the other the desire for truth, I should say, keep the truth; it is not suited for me; leave to me only the power and the desire to seek for it, though I never find it wholly and absolutely."

And this brings us face to face with Pilate's question, as it is commonly understood, though I am informed by an astute exegetist that the question which that Roman "district officer" really did put to those unscrupulous Orientals was in the contemptuous form: What is truth—to you? What do you know, or care, about truth? The answer is, there is no such thing as final truth to which we may attain. There are many separate truths, each one of which is false when it stands in isolation; but no man has seen the truth at any time and lived. Even the message of Jesus was a partial truth. The only questions which are worth solving are those which cannot

be solved, and men will not soon abandon the search for the unsearchable Supreme.

Even if we were to admit the amazing possibility that a man by searching could find all knowledge, it might not necessarily follow that he would be a religious man. Paul provided for the contingency that one might understand all mysteries, and he was entirely contemptuous of the result. In reality, knowledge has nothing to do with religion : it is the intelligence of the heart that judges. Indeed it was to the intellectually ignorant that St. Francis and Wesley appealed, because, having small intellect, theology was no stumbling-block to them ; and these two great revivers of religion had themselves little more theology than Jesus had.

It was in no spirit of cynicism that Renan counselled : " Let us abandon the search for truth ; we might not like it when we found it." But Newman and the pseudo-scientific theologians seized upon the wisdom of the world and lost their cause. Searching in wells for truth which lies exposed upon the surface, they are like the Woman peering into the empty grave and lamenting : " They have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him " ; whilst in reality he was secure in the hearts of men.

Prove not; only believe, was the watchword which Celsus gives as the magical formula by which the early Christians triumphed. Paul insists continually upon the distinction between the wisdom of the world and the word of God. His demand is to preach this word as foolishness, and avoid the seductions of science, a warning which on many occasions he might well have taken to himself. When the world is rid entirely of this fallacy, the spirit of religion will appeal to men of intellect with its full force. Then will come a new revival of religion; and it is amongst intellectual men that its operation will be most evident.

The business of the theologians is a hard one. The essence of their systems lies in the certainty that they have the truth and that their truth is essential to salvation. The lesser authorities are convinced that such is the case; the great theologians pretend to believe it, but in reality they do not. In this there is a distinction which may help us to an understanding.

A theologian, like a politician, must assume that his system is right and that all other systems are wrong. The essence of Jewish thought was that salvation was to Israel alone. It was hateful to them that the promise could be to any other. They maintained this ground and saved their

church, until out of that very church there came in the fulness of time such as Jesus and Paul. They saved it even against their prophets, who were continually objecting to this theory of exclusiveness, that salvation followed in descent from Abraham. "Are ye not as Ethiopians to me?" was the bitter cry of Amos. "God is able of these stones to raise up children," was the contemptuous protest of John the Baptist to Jewish pretensions. The charge which they brought against Jesus was blasphemy, because he spoke slightly of their ecclesiastical organization; and the cause of their life-long hatred against Paul was that by his apostasy he had destroyed the law.

This exclusiveness of salvation has been a possession of all theological systems. In that compendium of doctrine which was put forward as a confession of the faith which was held by the church of Scotland at the time of its publication, one may read: "Men not professing the Christian religion cannot be saved in any other way whatsoever." The theory of another church yet in active existence is much more narrow, that there can be no salvation even in a Christian church which does not possess an apostolic succession of priests. I do not suppose that these beliefs are in

reality held by a very large number of persons in these two churches. At any rate I do not hold the one ; and Dr. Symonds informs me that he does not hold the other.

It was because Peter “dissembled” upon this question that Paul, speaking as the Apostle and not as the Rabbi, “withstood him to the face,” and pronounced that man or angel accursed who preached any other doctrine than that of free salvation to Jew and Gentile alike. With our humanitarian notions we must make some provision for the heathen and for persons who adhere to other systems of belief than our own. Paul saw a way out of the difficulty, and he gives us some inkling of it in his letter to the Romans. To him there was no reality but God. All else is illusion. In the beginning men acquired some faint perception of the knowledge of God, “the invisible things being understood by the things that are made.” But their foolish heart was darkened, and professing themselves to be wise they became fools, and changed the glory of the uncorruptible God into an image like a man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things. As a result they fell into a most deplorable condition, which Paul describes with uncompromising fidelity ; and, in view of what we know of the

partial loveliness of domestic heathen life, with grotesque exaggeration. But men are never so utterly left to themselves that they are absolutely incapable of perceiving the truth and cleaving to that which is good. The law was revealed to the Jews, who will be judged by it, and either justified or condemned. The heathen have a law written in their hearts, and they will be judged accordingly, "their conscience also bearing witness, and their thoughts the meanwhile accusing or else excusing one another."

In Paul's first address to the Galatians as recorded in the Acts there is an example of the unconscious working of his mind upon this theory of exclusive salvation. The audience was a mixed one, composed of Jews and serious-minded Gentiles. In the outset he distinguishes his hearers as Men of Israel, and ye that fear God. As he proceeds, he becomes still more courteous: Men, brethren, children of the stock of Abraham, and whosoever among you feareth God, to you is the word of this salvation sent. Finally all distinction between Jew and Gentile disappears and he addresses them as Men, brethren. And when, long afterwards, he has occasion to write to these "foolish Galatians," he makes the great pronouncement: For ye are all the children of God.

There is neither Jew nor Greek. Ye are all one in Christ Jesus.

It is the fashion to say that belief has nothing to do with religion ; that religion is an affair of the emotions, of that part of the nature which lies below the surface and beyond the range of that consciousness which deals with the common affairs of life. Yet one must admit that belief has something to do with conduct, and no one will deny that in some way conduct and religion have something to do with each other. Even the law courts proceed upon the assumption that if a man really entertains the belief that he is about to die, his conduct will be altered to such an extent that he will be likely to tell the truth about any proper matter that may be put to him. In less extreme cases it is assumed that he will testify truly if he believes that false swearing will render him liable to the pains of hell for ever.

Religion, in truth, is an affair of the whole man, and the difference between the religious and the irreligious man is that the one thinks of God, the other is concerned with this world alone. The essence of religion is the conscious adjustment of conduct to the divine will. The identification of that will with morality is the foundation of ethics. In this lies the distinction between the two. The

one is the business of the individual in his own life; the other is the business of a professor in his chair. A man who reflects upon the matter at all inevitably arrives at the conclusion that he is merely a part of a whole which lies outside of the region of his knowledge. This very reflection and consciousness implies a theory of that which lies beyond, of the future in this life at least, and in normal cases of a life which may follow that, — in a word, of God.

A man who feels at all feels himself to be a part of a whole which lies beyond the realm of his knowledge. The lowest savage feels that, and makes for himself some kind of theory of that which lies beyond. Such a system of conceptions is a theology. The feeling is a fact. Theology is an explanation of it, but the theology which is ample for the savage will not suffice for us. Our feeling is finer and we require a finer explanation. To one who affirms that there is no such thing as feeling, I can do no better than apply the Pauline argument contained in the words: "thou fool." To one who confesses that he himself is insensible to religious feeling I offer a new argument: "thou beast"; for it is in this alone that a man has his chief preëminence over the beasts which perish. If he perish, that is enough. If there is some

arrangement by which he may be saved as by fire, that also is well.

As men grow, they outgrow their system, but the human need for a system remains. More especially must those feeble and imperfectly developed natures which constitute the bulk of humanity have a theology and a church to lean upon. Possibly those who have eaten of the tree of knowledge and are become as gods can do without. Those who have followed the recent controversy upon this subject will be inclined to lay some stress upon the testimony of George Tyrrell. He was an immediate sufferer from an organized theological system, and yet he declared that religion without at least an implicit theology is like a man without a brain, a bundle of sentiments, and blind impulses, and senseless contortions.

When Jesus died he left on earth a few friends who were enthusiastic over his teaching and were devoted to his person. They had faith in him; that is, they entertained for him a sentiment which may best be described as hero-worship. But from the scene of his death they had fled in consternation. The piteous account of the denial, and the bitter weeping of the disciple when his baseness was revealed to him, is more credible than the comforting legend of the women standing by

the cross in the friendly company of that disciple whom Jesus loved above all others.

In so far as they could judge, the theologians had repelled the attack of Jesus upon their position. They had every reason to believe that the sect of the Nazarene would disappear as the sect of the Baptist had disappeared in the chaos of Jewish aspiration; and in the light of after-events we cannot affirm that the expectation was without warrant. The Baptist had been described as more than a prophet, as greatest among them that are born of a woman. He, like Jesus, had set himself up against the organized nonsense with which the Scribes had kept the people in bondage. He demanded individual repentance and not priestly intercession for the remission of sins. By this direct approach to God he made the office of the hierarchy of no effect; and yet all the direct result of his work that remained was a small community of pious Jews, which lived in asceticism for a brief period and vanished into the cold void of history.

Jewish Christianity fared little better. It never obtained a footing in Asiatic soil. The church at Antioch was the only one of considerable size in Syria, and it was largely Gentile. The country districts and villages were unmoved by the new

doctrine, and the Christianity of Palestine finally perished in the catastrophe of Jerusalem. The only possible exception was the church in Edessa in the Euphrates valley, of which Mr. Burkitt writes so informingly, where an orthodox Christianity grew up, and exercised an influence — not a very good influence, it is true — as far as England, and as late as the seventh century. But this church in its origin and growth was entirely independent of the community in Jerusalem, and cannot be credited to the activity of the immediate disciples of Jesus. Its claim to authority was based upon a plausible letter dictated by Jesus to Hannan, a notary, for his employer Abgar the Black, as is recorded in the “Doctrines of Addai.” This letter was accepted as genuine for nearly five hundred years, when it was branded as apocryphal by Gelasius, that Bishop of Rome who strove to heal the schism between the eastern and western churches, after he had secured for his office complete independence of emperor and council in matters of faith. Yet the letter was copied and circulated in England for two hundred years longer, and was worn as a charm “against lightning and hail, and perils by sea and by land, by day and by night, and in dark places.”

The literary treatment which this document

received is interesting; and one may speak plainly of a letter which is condemned by authority, who would be barred from a free handling of an epistle contained within the canon. The conclusion puts into the mouth of Jesus the words, "No enemy shall have dominion over thy city." A century later the city of Edessa was sacked by the Romans, and the province in which it was situated was incorporated into the Empire. When Eusebius, in the light of subsequent events, came to treat of this letter which Jesus is alleged to have written, he was driven to one of two conclusions, either that the document was spurious, or that Jesus was mistaken.

This essential father of church history adopted neither one of these alternatives. He suppressed the damaging conclusion, and accepted the letter as genuine. Even if we admit the influence which these Syrian communities exercised over the imagination of the prophet of Islam and upon the development of Mohammedanism, we must also admit that such influence as they exercised was Jewish rather than Christian. Indeed a full admission of this claim would imply that Jewish Christianity had entirely disappeared from Israel.

The early apostles had two main lines of conduct open to them. The one was to preserve the

enthusiasm which was inspired by the person of Jesus. The other was to create an organization through which it might be propagated. In effect these two courses coincided. Enthusiasm unrestrained breaks forth into wild fancy. Confined, it is apt to precipitate as a stiff residue which eventually loses itself in the wrappings which surround it. Their whole labour was an attempt to give form to this enthusiasm, to secure it here and there with a point of intellectual belief, and by regulation to restrain it within the bounds of decency and order. That was the single aim of their theology, liturgy, and government.

The history of all religious movements at their inception, before they have had time to organize themselves, is one of wild disorder. Taking Paul at his own word, when he rebukes the early Christians, we can partially excuse the heathen who looked upon them as a company of madmen. Early Methodism is full of occurrences from which one would be liable to draw a similar deduction. In a book which "The Spectator" describes as "honest, accurate, and painstaking," there is an account of a meeting of twenty-five thousand persons, who behaved themselves in such a way that "the noise was like the roar of Niagara." It is just at this point that the theologian

comes upon the scene. Wesley gave to the Methodists an organization ; and if Paul had not appeared when the hearts of men burned within them, we should now be employing the words which Anatole France in "*Le Procureur de Judée*" puts into the mouth of Pilate: "Jesus? I do not recall the name." The scepticism of "*Philopatris*" would be ours: "And to me it seems that you have fallen asleep upon a white rock in a parish of dreams and have dreamt all this in a moment while it was yet night."

It is easy for those who are filled with the spirit to deride the humble labour of those who would confine it to some relation with conduct in this world. There is no task so thankless as the suppression of ecstasy in others, although it involves self-denial of that luxury in the individual who undertakes it. Especially hard must this repression have been for Paul. He thanked God that he could speak with tongues more than they all ; yet he would rather speak five words with his understanding than ten thousand words in an unknown tongue. Certainly he was easily first in his capacity to see visions. Apart from the great event on the way to Damascus, he had visions in the supreme moments of his life. He undertook his great mission in response to the cry of that Mace-

donian whom he saw in a vision at Troas, "Come over and help us." His second visit to Jerusalem was the result of a revelation. He protests continually that it was not from man that he had received his message, that no man had taught him, and that it was not with flesh and blood he had conferred. Yet he deliberately makes light of these experiences in his splendid exaltation of the virtue of love ; declaring that, in comparison with it, speaking with tongues, prophesying, and other ecstatic manifestations were nothing better than the clanging of those cymbals which the Corinthians were accustomed to hear in the heathen worship. For fourteen years he was without the spiritual elevation to the third heaven which he had once before experienced ; and yet those were the years in which he strove with sane, sober, and serious thought, with clear, decisive utterance, with manly labour and heroic courage, to develop the character of his converts and organize them into a community which had some semblance to a well-ordered church.

Whether we like it or not, Christianity has been preserved to us by the theological genius of Paul and of his companions, many of whom are unknown even as to their names. Evidence of their skill and their art lies on every page of their

writings. One example will serve to illustrate their capacity for dealing with an exegetical necessity, not that it is the best, but because it is best known. The community of Christians was without any body of doctrine, without organization, without a liturgy even, excepting the form of prayer which Jesus is reported to have taught to his disciples. We cannot too often remind ourselves of that warning which was addressed by Bishop Selborne to the divines who had assembled at Westminster for the purpose of fixing for all time the true confession of faith, that the Scriptures were not written in English for our specific requirements.

The words of Jesus are at best a translation from the language which he employed, and the translator, in attempting to convey his meaning, would be influenced unconsciously by his own predilections and consciously by the needs of the case. Luke in writing his form of this prayer evidently had in mind the manna with which the children of Israel were fed, and he translated food as "daily bread" to imply a eucharistic function. This prayer in the earliest liturgy was used morning, noon, and night. At night there was no necessity of praying for the bread of the day which was already gone, and the form was

enlarged to include the bread which would be required for to-morrow, and day by day after that. With the tendency of all religions to dematerialize common things, this to-morrow was projected into the future, and the food became a supernatural bread. In time a section of the church abandoned the analogy with manna, and in the desire to associate Christianity with at least the forms of Judaism, substituted for it an analogy with the shew-bread which was always exposed to view; and so the phrase "continual bread" was born.

Under the influence of the same desire and of that passionate longing for the return of the Messiah, the expression contained in the original words, as they probably stood, "Deliver us from evil, for this is thy Kingdom," was transformed into "Thy Kingdom come." The Jewish doxology was added, and the finished exegetical product was substituted in the Christian service for the "Eighteen Prayer" of the synagogues. This was followed by a reading of Scripture, by a sermon, and by a concluding prayer, precisely as was the custom amongst the Jews. In the church of Scotland to this day an order of service is observed at every diet of worship which differs but slightly from this, — a matter upon which

happily I am capable of offering expert evidence ; and I am informed that a somewhat similar practice prevails in all churches of the Dissent excepting in the Church of England.

Other essentially Jewish observances were added, with slight alteration, and so an order of service was created. Fasting was practised on Wednesdays and Fridays instead of, as previously, on Mondays and Thursdays, "so as to be distinguished from the hypocrites"; but it would appear that abstinence from food did not imply humiliation in the sight of God. The device was employed rather for the physiological reason that hunger is a quickener of the senses, and makes them more receptive of any revelation which is about to be vouchsafed. No price was too great to pay for this precious gift. It was a sign of the spirit, and conferred great authority upon the possessor. The contrary practice was also employed as soon as it was discovered that a surfeit of food and drink would free the mind from self-control, and allow the spirit to enter in and assume full possession. A prophet of the Greek church more recently attained to an extreme degree of ecstasy by this method. When he desired a revelation he would break the large bones of a dead bear with a heavy club, and extract the

marrow. After eating freely of the delicacy, he would lie down to sleep, and when he arose he would report that he had seen marvellous things.

When a man protests that he has had a revelation it is easy to contradict him; it is hard to disprove his allegations, as the more sober-minded of the apostles were not slow to discover. Itinerant preachers were coming into the scattered communities, appealing for support on the ground that they were possessed by the spirit, and offering these revelations as warrant of authority. These wanderers must be kept in order by the "president," as the overseer of the meeting is described by Paul in his earlier letters. It was his business to provide a place of assembly, to regulate the service, and to take charge of any gifts which might be made for distribution amongst the poor. Nothing could be more natural and simple; but the arrangement was inefficient, since these wandering teachers and prophets were yet free to expound the word according to their own interpretation, and appealing to the people set the authority of the overseer at defiance.

A closer supervision was necessary, and before his death Paul was writing to the Philippians with entire approval of the two orders of overseers which had grown up—the bishops and

the deacons — amongst the saints. As yet there was no election of these officials. They took their place by virtue of a natural endowment for keeping order. But at the time when the Acts was written, these officers had become organized into presbyteral colleges, with presidents who bore the titles indifferently of overseers, shepherds, leaders, elders, with a subsidiary class of ministers or helpers, whose functions were disciplinary and social rather than spiritual and hortative. The teachers were there for that purpose.

But eventually the overseer had a wider diversity of duties. A corresponding range of qualifications was demanded of him, as is recorded in the first letter to Timothy. He must be a man of blameless domestic life, exercising a good discipline at home, hospitable, and of good report. In addition to these virtues he must be apt to teach. So important a function could no longer be left in the hands of irresponsible persons. The apostolic tradition of sound doctrine must be maintained by due authority in face of the rising power of Gnosticism. The office of the bishop is magnified, and, if he teach in addition to his other duties, he is to have a double reward. But there must be some guarantee that his teaching is

sound, and that can be assured only by assigning to him the possession of the spirit, "through the laying on of hands." When Paul speaks of a gift it is this which he means, and the "good deposit" remains, not with heretical teachers, not even with the congregation, but with the officials. This division into a laity and a clergy, with varying degrees of dignity, was helped by a remembrance of the clear distinction between the priesthood and the people in the Jewish system; and the idea of an apostolic succession was familiar to minds which were saturated with the prerogatives of the House of Aaron.

There is some evidence, however, that the change from the old simplicity and freedom of service to a fixed organization and a paid episcopate was not received with complete acquiescence by the people, or even by so staunch an upholder of institutions as the writer of the Acts. To him the itinerant preachers were grievous wolves; the bishops should avoid their practices, and rather follow the example of Paul, who laboured for his living at the humble occupation of tent-making. The itinerants, as we may readily surmise, were not wholly submissive to the new order. Indeed there is specific evidence in the bitter cry of that elder who indites to Gaius the Third

Epistle of John: "I wrote unto the church: but Diotrephes, who loveth to have the preëminence, receiveth us not. Wherefore, if I come, I will remember his deeds which he doeth, prating against us with malicious words: and not content therewith, neither doth he himself receive the brethren, and forbiddeth them that would, and casteth them out of the church."

These itinerant preachers indulged in fanatical insubordination. Elders required to be warned against drunkenness, coarseness, and impurity in their own households. Indeed some proselytes who had been made bishops "fell into the condemnation of the devil." The young women displayed a love of dress and finery. They were notorious gossips, and Titus felt bound to warn the older women against the vice of drink. He implied, too, that the excellent virtue of chastity did not in itself atone for the absence of all others. St. James devotes a whole epistle to the rich Christians who blaspheme the name, doing violence to the poorer brethren, dragging them before the tribunals, and keeping back the wages of the labourers. Christian slaves robbed their masters, and amongst them there was not even the most rudimentary morality. Documents such as the Epistle of James and the "Shepherd of

Hermas" give one a terrible idea of the moral and religious level of many congregations. It was as if the gospel had lost its power through its alliance with the world.

Order was restored, and none too soon. In vain the people had been warned that "not everyone who speaks in ecstasy is a prophet, but only he who at the same time walketh in the way of the Lord." By their fruits ye shall know them; by his deeds shall the true prophet be distinguished from the false, they were told; and they were recommended to test the man who claimed to have the spirit, by his life; these were the false prophets that came in sheep's clothing, creeping into houses, and captivating the women. They had converted the teaching of Jesus into sophistry, and made of his great works a system of magic. Even during the lifetime of Paul, the Lord's Supper had been transformed into a senseless orgy. At Corinth, as he tells us, the rich would not wait for the slaves and the poor. To the sin of pride they added the vice of gluttony, with the result that the poor went away "hungry and weak," whilst the rich remained in a drunken stupor.

Most prophets have always been false prophets, speaking great swelling words of vanity, sporting

themselves with their own deceivings, and with feigned words making merchandise of the people. It is the desire of the people that their prophets shall smooth their tongues and say, He saith. They say to their seers, See not; and to the prophets, Prophecy not unto us right things, but smooth things, deceits and words which are smoother than butter. In the traditional home of prophecy, Ahab found four hundred false prophets in one place on the same day, whom he might much better have put to death.

The prophet and the priest are inevitable enemies; and yet, without the priest the prophet ends as a voice crying in the wilderness. It is the strangest paradox of history that religion loses itself without the church, and its fineness is always destroyed within. The priest slays the prophet and betrays the church; yet he maintains its existence until the saint is ready to redeem it. When religion is driven from the hearts of men, its only refuge is the church until the time comes, as it inevitably does, for it to burst forth like a water-spring long pent up. When we realize that it is one function of the priest to slay the prophet, we can regard with more equanimity the methods which he adopts.

Occasionally a mistake is made, but the priests

are always willing to make what amends they can by building a handsome sepulchre.

III

A criticism which is content with an exposition of the polemical force and apologetic direction of the Gospels and Epistles proceeds from an ignorant, perverse, and unbelieving mind. Polemic and apologetic loom large in the writings of Paul, because these were the things with which he was immediately concerned. He was not writing for us; still less did he intend that his letters should form the chapters of a book. He was merely dealing in a summary way with particular cases which had arisen, and all that has come down to us of his writings can be contained in twenty or thirty moderate-sized pages of print. To be strictly accurate, he did not write: he merely dictated his letters, excepting that to the Galatians, when in anxiety and anger he seized the pen, and issued a genuine product of his turbulent mind; in the end, however, apologizing so winsomely for the large characters which he was obliged to employ, after the manner of a child or one half-blind. This South Galatian church was composed of Jews, proselytes, and Gentiles, and all were very dear to him. If it had been possible, they would

have plucked out their own eyes and given them to him. Yet after he had left, there was a deliberate attempt to reinstate Jewish ideas and practices in his church. He was traduced as one who was no Apostle, who had received no authority, as one who was setting aside the laws of God in showing to the people a shorter way, and by declaring the futility of Jewish rites and ordinances. He defends himself with a fine boldness, arguing, appealing, even cursing the disciples who had walked with Jesus. Finally, he sums up his message, which is as valid for us as for the Galatians, that the essence of religion rests in the individual life, and not in rite or ceremonial.

The first letter to the Corinthians deals with an entirely different state of affairs. The community which Paul had founded three years before became engaged in difficulties and wrote to him. Factions had arisen. The Jews were at work again, protesting that a Pagan must become a Jew on his way to Christianity. The Greeks having observed that no ill effects followed casting off the Levitical law, cast off the moral law as well. A third party was engaged in the vain attempt to rationalize the Hebrew Scriptures with Greek philosophy; and lastly there were those who disdained all teaching, and strove for an im-

mediate and mystical union with God. To these warring factions Paul writes that there is only one basis of agreement, loyalty to Jesus, and coöperation in his service.

The immediate motive for writing the Second Epistle to the Corinthians was extremely simple. It was reported commonly that there was in the church a most infamous fellow, who was guilty of immorality so gross that it was not even named amongst the Gentiles. Paul in his first letter adjured them in the name and by the power of the Lord Jesus Christ to deliver him unto Satan for the destruction of his flesh. Instead of adopting so radical a measure, the church-meeting merely decided to reprimand this wicked person; and it would even appear that the decision was not an unanimous one. Paul writes to signify his assent, and urges them to comfort the erring brother lest perhaps he should be swallowed up with overmuch sorrow. At the same time he takes occasion to say some plain things about his former friends who had forged letters against him.

The Epistles to the Ephesians and to the Colossians are pamphlets against Gnosticism, and are more critical of that than expository of Christianity. The letter to Philemon is a short note about a slave-boy. The Philippians had sent to

the Apostle, who was then a prisoner at Rome, certain articles for his comfort, and he acknowledged the gift in a letter of thanks, — a letter, it may be added, the like of which for loveliness, poignancy, richness, and grace, never issued from another heart.

The doctrine of Paul as set forth in these letters to the Romans, the Galatians, the Corinthians, the Ephesians, the Philippians, — not to mention the short note to Philemon, which best of all illustrates the humanity, the humour even of the Apostle, for it is in a distinctly humorous vein that he induces the Christian to receive back his slave-boy who has run away, — is indefinite and obscure, because it was indefinite and obscure in his own mind ; it is only in the letters which were written by his followers in amplification of his doctrine that the full results are observed ; and in so far as they are extreme, they are baneful.

Paul was a man of plain speech. He rebuked sin wherever he found it, and he did not hesitate to name and describe the sins which he rebuked. He devotes a chapter to a catalogue of the vices which were common in Rome, amongst the heathen ; and he leaves us in no doubt about the practices which were prevalent in the church at Corinth, — men

and women living, or attempting to live, in utter defiance of the claims of nature, and violating all the principles of consanguinity. As a result we are inclined to think of these practices as being the rule rather than the occasional exception, and we are blind to the virtues which did blossom in that heathen environment.

Above all we fail to understand that nearly every individual in the community did possess a personal experience of living in an especial relation with God, which was much more precious than that which came from a punctilious observance of the formal commands of Jesus. There was an inner union in the spirit of God, and the whole life was pervaded by that spirit whose fruit was love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance. In short, this spirit proved itself not by ecstasies, prophesying, and speaking with tongues, but by holiness and love, leading a life of purity in brotherly fellowship. To do the will of God and present themselves blameless was the first charge upon the members of the Christian community. In this was embraced the whole range of moral action. Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things

are of good report, — these were the things upon which they were to think, because there was virtue in them, and praise to those who made them their own. Above all, the Christian converts were to shine as lights in the world, blameless and harmless in the midst of a perverse and rebellious generation. They were to be unspotted from the world, holy as God was holy, pure as Jesus was, and as temples of the spirit of God they were to keep their bodies a fit dwelling-place for that spirit. Morality was not an abstract quality, but a goal to be attained at the cost of much labour and sweat.

If the Jews were to be refuted, it must be out of their own mouths, and Paul appealed to their writings. In them he discovered weapons for an attack upon the fundamental position of the Jewish religion. The Hebrew demand: By what means shall a man be justified? is in reality a less ecstatic form of the Christian cry: What must I do to be saved? Justification to Paul, as well as to the Jews, was a simple reality, and not, as it has become to us by reason of much exposition, an unintelligible formula. The word merely means to declare innocent, the exact opposite of to declare guilty. God is imagined as keeping a book in which every man has an account, with his good

deeds recorded on one side and the bad on the other. As each act is performed, judgement is passed upon it whether it be good or evil, and it is written down accordingly; but the final summing up is postponed till the last day, when the book of life will be opened, and the dead judged out of those things which were written according to their works. There are varying accounts of this system of book-keeping; but in the main they agree that something will happen to those who are on the wrong side. The extreme view that they will be cast into a lake of fire is a late and picturesque invention.

The Jewish answer was that a man is justified if he keeps the law; Paul declared that a man is justified by faith. That was his great doctrine, that justification by faith took the place of justification by the law, in virtue of a certain event which had recently happened, namely the death of Jesus. But Paul was obliged, or, what comes to the same thing, thought he was obliged, to find authority for this doctrine in the Hebrew books. He found the warrant he required in the saying of a minor prophet: "The just shall live by faith"; and in Genesis: "Abram believed and it was counted to him for righteousness." This was a daring attempt to forestall the law by four hundred and thirty years, —

a length of time which was believed to have elapsed between the death of the Patriarch and the promulgation of the code. When the Rabbis protested that the exegesis of Paul was fallacious, he made the obvious retort, that the "veil of Moses lay upon their hearts," and obscured from them the real meaning of what they had read.

Eventually the term came to mean forgiveness; and the new idea which Paul introduced was that this forgiveness took place upon entrance into the Christian community, here and now, and was not dependent upon an uncertain award in the indefinite future. The transaction was an act of grace on the part of God. The Jew was justified because his conduct was above the average. The Christian was justified because he was forgiven, no matter what his conduct might have been. But he was justified by reason of his faith in Jesus; namely, his belief that he was the Messiah, that he died, and rose again. He was justified in virtue of his belief in the creed of the new church rather than of his practice of the observances of the old which was now become the synagogue of Satan. Faith, even in Paul's mind, became not an absolute trust in God's mercy, but an acceptance of the fact that Jesus rose from the dead. Instead of the synagogue the Apostle supplied a church, and

inevitably obscured the light of Jesus, which revealed to men that God is our Father. The next business was to attack the Jews on the practical side, that is, the performance of sacrificial rites.

The theory of the sacrifice is the most complicated in all theology. It aims to give a consistent account of religious practice, throughout the whole experience of the race. At the one extreme we may observe the figure of the aged Patriarch, the wood laid in order upon the altar, his son bound thereon, the knife uplifted for the sacrifice, and the ram caught in a thicket by his horns to institute the vicarious idea. At the other extreme, as one may witness any Sabbath morning, is the minister of a country congregation, standing in the midst, with the full glare of the sun upon the whitened walls, as with closed eyes and open mouth he offers up the sacrifice of prayer. Between the two extremes is the priest who lifts up the Mass which by some divine thaumaturgy has been transmuted into flesh and blood; near to him is the man who calls himself a priest, and offers up supersubstantial bread. In the heathen and Hebrew performance of the rite something happened to the victim. He was slain and the smoke of his burning ascended a certain way up to heaven. In the Catholic church it is believed

that something happens, in proof of which the altar is censed to remove the odour which it is assumed has been created in the process. In one division of the Protestant church it is pretended that something happens; in others there is a frank abandonment of all pretence, without abandonment, save in the case of the Society of Friends, of a practice which is merely ceremonial and perfunctory.

All systems of religion begin with the sentiment of fear,—fear of those mysterious powers which employ the wind, the sea, and the lightning as their weapons against a puny and helpless race of men. If there is a moment of sunshine and calm, it is only a temporary cessation of the torment. Humanity is a Caliban in Prospero's power. No price is too great to offer for relief,—the choicest of the flock, the first fruits of the earth; and, if these will not suffice, that most precious of all offerings, the eldest born of the family. Sacrifice was the expression of fear, and in the end came to mean religion. As men gained experience of life their fear diminished, and their sacrifices became less gross. Traces of this fearfulness still exist in the most unexpected places. When we pray, "Hallowed be thy name," we are merely assenting to the command, "Thou shalt not take

the name of the Lord thy God in vain"; conforming, in some degree, with the Jewish custom of naming the holy name not more than once a year, and with the heathen custom of refraining entirely from mention of the household gods. That is the fundamental objection to what is now technically known as profanity.

An increased perception of the heinousness of sin comes in the progress of the moral development of the race. To the wandering Israelites it was an easy matter to rid themselves of this burden under which humanity lies. They cast it upon the back of a goat and drove the beast into the wilderness. This trivial device might do very well for a simple-minded, pastoral people. It was too transparent for intelligent Hebrews in the first century. Not all the blood of beasts on Jewish or Hellenic altars slain could take away the guilt of sin. A better means was needed in Paul's time, even the blood of Jesus, the lamb without spot or blemish, though it is only comparatively late that the efficacy of the blood of Jesus is insisted on. The three earlier Gospels make no mention of any blood being shed at his death. It is only in the Fourth Gospel that the want is supplied by a relation of the incident of the spear-thrust. To us the idea is repugnant that sin can

be atoned for by sacrifice. We revert rather to the view of Isaiah, that not sacrifice is required, nor the blood of goats, but mercy, loving-kindness, and righteousness.

Paul did not fail to see that he vitiated his own theory of the absolute and only efficacy of the sacrifice of Jesus, by affirming that salvation was accessible on other terms before that event had occurred. This was remedied by nothing less than conveying the message to the dead. Descent into the underworld presented no great difficulty. Moses, Samuel, and all the prophets had descended into Hades. They were followed by the apostles and by Jesus himself, as any one may discover who has the Christian creed in his hand. But there was a specific reason for this later incursion, namely, that they might preach to those who had died and bestow upon them the means of salvation which were available for the living. Paul had demonstrated that all had sinned, and that death had passed upon all. For this condition of universal death the death of Jesus was the universal remedy. It did seem hard that those who had died before the fulness of time, through no fault of theirs, inasmuch as they had not created themselves, should continue in death or, worse still, in torment. Against this contingency many reme-

dies were devised. The living were baptized for the dead, so that the regenerating effect of baptism might be imputed retroactively to them. But, best of all, the means of grace were borne to them by Jesus and his disciples. It was a comfortable doctrine.

There was a problem harder still, which these courageous men were obliged to face. It concerned the Christian converts and not the Jews. Jesus, and Paul too, had a theory that life in this world, even the world itself, would not long endure. They were nourished upon the belief that the fashion of this world would soon pass away. The sun would be turned to darkness and the moon to blood. The stars would fall. The heavens would vanish with a great noise. The elements would melt with a fervent heat. It was a later conception that there would be a new heaven and a new earth, that the sign of the cross should appear in the air, and that Jesus would make his advent borne up by the clouds. Paul was firmly convinced that these important events would take place during the lifetime of some of those who heard his voice. They would not die, but they would be changed. The dead would be raised incorruptible, and death swallowed up in victory.

In the mind of Jesus also this coming of the

kingdom was so important in the early part of his ministry that the affairs of this world found little place. If, as he promised, certain of his disciples should not taste death until they had seen the kingdom of God coming with power, they could not be expected to interest themselves in local affairs and transitory concerns. It was only in such an atmosphere of expectation that the ideal of Jesus could survive, dealing as it did with the inner life of the individual. Society was past caring for. The state was a foreign power. They might pay tribute to Cæsar or not. He was not a judge over them in matters of law. The relation of master and servant did not interest him. Neither poverty nor riches was worth talking about; and apart from the injunction against divorce for frivolous reasons, the family received as scant consideration as society. He denied any claim upon his thought by his mother or his brethren. Those alone who did the will of God were his brother, his sister, his mother.

In the world of reality this ideal must fail. It involved anarchy in government, communism in property, and the end of all that civilization had so laboriously built up. Indeed the experiment was actually tried of abandoning all worldly possessions. The conduct of Ananias and Sapphira

is sufficient commentary upon its result, and the shocking fate which befell them was intended as a salutary warning to those who were disposed to lie to the Holy Ghost by keeping back "a part of the price." From what we know of the immutability of human nature, we are not disposed to wonder that so sharp a lesson was needed.

In spite of these sure promises and high hopes, nothing had happened. It was no longer of any use to appeal to the emotions and the imagination. Jesus was dead. He was not coming again. The disciples also who were to witness that coming were passing away, — even the disciple to whom Jesus was reported to have said that the Gates of Hades should not prevail against him. Jerusalem had fallen. This word of prophecy was fulfilled, and yet the Parousia was as far off as ever. Men were becoming impatient, and enquired specifically if the coming should be in the second watch of the night or in the third. The evangelists did their best. The earliest eschatological deliverance reads: "Immediately after the tribulation of those days cometh the Son of Man." Mark suppressed the word "immediately," and Luke became still less explicit in the words, "These things must needs come to pass first, but the end

is not immediately." The Season of the Gentiles, he affirmed, must intervene; and those who became discouraged were reminded by the parable of the foolish virgins of the fate which overtook those who fell asleep because the bridegroom delayed his coming.

Yet the murmuring increased in intensity. To allay it the Epistle to the Hebrews was written, reassuring those who had witnessed the death of a whole generation of Christians who had not obtained the promise nor received salvation. The Epistle of James with its dogmatic belief in requital was written for the same purpose, to urge the brethren to be patient unto the coming of the Lord. The disappointment finds full expression in the Second Epistle of Peter, in which we have an account of the mockers who exclaimed: "Where is the promise of his coming? For from the day that the fathers fell asleep all things continue as they were." Against these mockers the full force of Jewish vituperation is directed, and the writer finds an explanation of the apparent deception in the assumption that one day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day.

These dialectical exercises were intended to confound the Jews. For himself Paul had other

evidence for the authority of Jesus. The impression that he had seen "the Lord" was so strong that no further attestation was required; and we shall arrive at no understanding of Paul's place in the history of the development of theology, or comprehend the work which he performed, if we neglect the importance of that portentous experience which he encountered on the road from Jerusalem to Damascus. If we miss that central fact, we are lost in any attempt to follow the course of his thought. It was in the forefront of his preaching. His life was determined by it. Continually he abandons his speculative soteriology, and shapes his course anew by that event. Twice he protests: "Have I not seen Jesus Christ our Lord?"¹ and again: "Last of all he was seen of me also."² Yet we have in three other separate places his own account of what did actually occur, and in not one does it appear that he had in reality seen him. In Acts ix, 3-7, we are told that he saw a light and heard a voice, that he asked certain questions and got certain replies. We are also informed that the men with him heard a voice, but saw no man. In Acts xxii, 6, we are told that he saw a light, and heard a voice, and asked certain questions, and received certain an-

¹ 1 Cor. ix, 1.

² 1 Cor. xv, 8.

swers. They that were with him saw the light, but heard no voice. In Acts xxvi, 13, he is credited with having seen a light; and those that were with him were fallen to the earth. Upon this occasion he alone heard the voice and replied to its questions.

A mystery has been made of this experience of Paul. It differed only in degree from occurrences which any one may witness, who is careful to observe the manifestations of the human mind. Paul was a man of extraordinary mind, and it is only to be expected that it would work in a powerful way. There was nothing mysterious about it, save in so far as conversion is always mysterious, "a fresh miracle every time it occurs." At any rate Paul had an experience on his way to Damascus. It was to him the most important thing in the world; and his whole life was spent in disclosing to men the importance of such an experience for them. When he attempted a theoretical explanation of the occurrence he became Saul the Rabbi, finding—to apply Mr. Bradley's epigram about metaphysics—bad reasons in defence of a position which could be won only by instinct and experience.

The Jews by no means took their punishment lying down. They gave as good as they got, by

weight of argument and authority, nor did they neglect the employment of their fine talent for vituperation and abuse. They directed the incident of Simon Magus against Paul. In the Apocalypse they deliberately excluded him from apostolic rank. They delivered him up to the Romans for judgement of death. Finally they had resort to the great argument of physical force, and left him for dead. As if this were not enough, they uttered the basest slanders about his private life, alleging with an ingenious stroke of malice that he had embraced Christianity in a fit of pique and perturbation of mind because his passion for the daughter of the president of the Sanhedrim had not been reciprocated. Jesus himself did not escape these attentions. They said of him that he was mad and, what was worse in their eyes, the son of a Roman soldier. A similar slander has been revived in our own time.

From Paul's claim of Tarsus in Cilicia as his birthplace, his boast of Roman citizenship, and his appeal to Cæsar, — a boast which he made once too often, else he might have been set at liberty by Agrippa and Festus, — we are apt to forget that his life was indissolubly bound up with the Jewish life of Jerusalem. Certainly he was educated in that environment, possibly in the

house of his sister, whose son afterwards served him so well. Yet in spite of his rabbinical training, he had a certain capacity for finding himself at home amongst foreign ideas, which conveys the impression that he was more thoroughly imbued with those ideas than he really was. He had scarcely a tincture of Greek philosophy, and no conception whatever of Greek religion or sympathy with that Greek View of Life which Mr. Lowes Dickinson has set forth with so much charm. They were mere heathen, bewitched by the power of evil so that they came to believe in a lie.

In reality Paul was untouched by the Greek mind, though he used its forms, less, however, than many Hebrews of his time. Before the reign of Antiochus IV, many Jews of noble birth strove, even at the cost of submitting to a surgical operation, to appear like Greeks in their person, so enamoured were they of that rich, strong, delicate, and free spirit. Three centuries before the Jewish law was destroyed the official keepers felt that it was slipping away in spite of the elaborate framework which they had erected for its preservation. They forged the name of God and the Fathers to give sacredness to their work, and prove that their church was of an everlasting

validity. Those who protested that the Levitical ordinances were of recent device and only transitory in their application, and that the time had come for their abrogation that Israel might take its place as a nation in the world, were hunted from the temple as apostates and paganizers. The later literature of the Hebrews is merely a reiteration of cursings against the inevitable end of their nationality and the form of their religion. The Hellenistic spirit was at work upon their most sacred ordinances, and through them upon the Jewish nationality.

Paul had failed in his attempt to break down Jewish exclusiveness. The whole force and tide of the facts was against him. The message of Jesus was to his own people, although he was willing that all men should hear it. The disciples did not think it possible to go through all the cities of Israel, the time was so short till the Son of Man should come. Mark and Matthew make no mention of any mission of the Gentiles. Indeed Matthew limits it explicitly to Palestine. To the Jew religion was a national system, the product of a covenant drawn up between the God of the world and a peculiar people who would enter into the heritage of it, who would bend all other peoples to their stubborn will, and compel them to adopt Jew-

ish ceremonial, juridical, and social customs as the commandments of God. This was their law.

In reality Jesus, who cared very little about this law, supposed that he was fulfilling it by neglecting its observance. The disciples understood that Jesus came to fulfil, not to destroy ; and the burden of Paul's earlier preaching was that the law had been fulfilled. But Jesus elaborated no doctrine. He merely exemplified a holy life with God, and gave himself in virtue of this life to the service of his fellow-men, to lead them out of the world of selfishness to a union in love in the kingdom of God which now is and is eternal. By living in the riches of his life with God, he became for men a revelation of God of whom they heard but had not known ; and he did all this—won men to God—and yet kept himself free from the entanglement of politics and theology, and his followers from bigotry or asceticism. According to him the Christian church was merely a communion of hearts in union with God. This was the true Israel. In this sense he fulfilled the law. Henceforth the individual was not dependent for salvation upon his descent from Abraham, but upon his responsibility to God. In that sense the law was destroyed.

Jesus brought into the world a new idea which

was absolutely destructive of Judaism, and Paul was right when he said, "Christ is the end of the law." Between them both they made this fact evident to the world. Paul, however, accepted all the postulates of the law,—the fall of man, original sin, atonement by sacrifice. All was finished in the death of Jesus, and by his theory of the efficacy of that death he did not found a new theology, but merely effected a transformation of the old. It was an attempt to put new wine into old bottles; but as Professor Macnaughton enquires so pointedly: "If you have nothing but old bottles, where else can you put your wine?"

This elaborate contrivance was devised for the Jews, but it was too abstruse to appeal to their taste. Paul made no attempt to impose this system upon the Greeks. To appeal to them he required a new theology, new to the Hebrews but not to the Greeks. Nothing could be more pantheistic than his speech on Mars Hill, about a god in whom all men live, and move, and have their being. He merely offered to reveal to them an additional god for their Pantheon, who had the unusual qualification of raising men from the dead.

He was quick to see that the Greeks demanded a philosophy of religion, which the Jews never

did, and he proceeded to supply that. They would have a mystery and he would show them a mystery. Abandoning his conceptions of the fall of man, original sin, the blood-bought atonement of God, and the sacrifice now transformed into a sacrament, he seized upon their conception of the *logos*, which he found ready at his hand, and formulated the doctrine that Jesus was the Son of God. It is extremely difficult to ascertain the degree of definiteness which this doctrine assumed in the mind of Paul, and there is a strong tendency to impute to him a finality of conviction which was attained only by his followers. To the Jews Paul presented Jesus as the Messiah, and they rejected him. To the Greeks he was lifted up as the *logos*, and they were drawn unto him. To them the *logos* was the wisdom of God as revealed by humanity and the world, with a preëxistence as a distinct person. This idea fitted in well enough with the Messianic idea to make it easy handling for so clever a theologian as Paul, without resorting to the coarse device of making Jesus say that he was the *logos*.

There were many things which it would have been convenient for Jesus to have said during his lifetime, and occasion was taken of his resurrection to supply the omission. Matthew closed

his work with the command of the risen Lord to evangelize and baptize after a formula which confined salvation to the church. In the amazing conclusion of Mark the comment is added, "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be damned"; and these words are put into the mouth of Jesus.

This new theology by a confusion of metaphor with argument offered an explanation of Jesus to intelligent heathen. They worked upon it, and finally wrenched Christianity from its foundation and squared it with Greek ethics and Alexandrine philosophy. The approval of the cultured was won, and the gods were cast down from their place. It is Paul's claim to greatness that he delivered Christianity from Judaism, and gave to the Gospel a language which is somewhat intelligible to us Gentiles. He thrust the law out of religion mercilessly; or rather prevented it from forcing its way into Christianity again.

Christianity had scarcely emerged from its conflict with the Jews when it was obliged to encounter an enemy from within. The Gnostics had withdrawn arrogantly from the church and the fellowship. If we are correctly informed by the writer of the First Epistle of John, they hated ordinary Christians, criticized and despised

them, and gave themselves up exclusively to their mystic love of God. The polemic against this sect had begun in the time of Paul. In the Epistle to the Philippians and in the Epistle to the Ephesians the watchword is proclaimed: Be united in peace. There is one body, one spirit, one Lord, one faith, one baptism. This controversy culminates in the Gospel of John.

Paul compromised with the Greeks, and won them not for Christianity as it left the mind of Jesus, but for a Christianity which had been cast in a Hellenic mould. As in all compromises, there were losses and gains. The Fourth Gospel is one. If it were not for the existence of Mark and Matthew, it would be hard to contradict successfully the logologists. Under the influence of this doctrine the real Jesus was replaced by a hypothetical Christ, by a personified word. He became a mystery which could exist only in the vacuous atmosphere of the professional philosopher. The mystery in time replaced the person. The account of it became "a programme of perfection." Then followed an investigation of this mystery, and formulæ were devised which can be understood only by professors of the mysterious.

One curious result remains firmly embedded in the lower strata of Protestantism. The Fourth

Gospel begins: In the beginning was the *logos*, and the *logos* was with God, and the *logos* was a god. In the English version which is in most common use, the term "*logos*" is translated as "word." It is inferred that the Bible is the Word, and hence that this collection of writings is God, a perfectly unjustifiable conclusion. Professor Harnack states very clearly the objection to this *logos* theory in the words: "The doctrine demands that this image should be apprehended solely in the light of alleged hypotheses about Jesus, expressed in theoretical propositions."

IV

What Jesus did, what Paul preached to the Gentiles, is best summed up by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews: "He delivered them who through fear of death were all their lifetime subject to bondage." When it becomes to a man a matter of entire indifference whether he lives or dies, then is he free; and if in addition he is assured of a glorious resurrection, as the saying is, then his manumission is complete. But what Jesus meant by saving the soul was preserving it alive, not restoring that which was already lost, and the means which he recommended were a change of mind, self-denial, humility, effacement,

and trust in God. Henceforth the Christian life was to be one of simplicity and purity of disposition, with a heart which was ever the same in trouble, in renunciation, in possession, and use of earthly good. The man is to be a new creature.

The Greeks understood this doctrine in its grosser form. The certainty that Jesus could raise men from the dead was the means by which Christianity gained a foothold in the world. The reverse conviction, that he could cast them into hell, was an afterthought. Of course the more intelligent of the heathen received this new doctrine with polite mockery, saying: "We will hear thee again of this matter"; as Cleon said to Protus in Browning's poem: "This doctrine could be held by no sane man."

The desire for immortality has always been the dominant wish of humanity. To the Greeks especially, death was the greatest of all evils, and to live for ever the chief of blessings. That is why Paul's assurance of redemption from forgetfulness, elevation to the divine life, and final deification, appealed to them so nearly. Paul had the judgement of the Patriarch before him, that in the business of death a man hath no preëminence over the beast: the one like the other lieth down

and riseth not. In a more elaborate form he had that great word of Preaching: "In the death of a man there is no remedy; neither was there any man known to have returned from the grave. For we are born to all adventure; and we shall be hereafter as though we had never been; for the breath in our nostrils is as smoke, and a little spark in the moving of our heart: which being extinguished, our body shall be turned into ashes, and our spirit shall vanish as the soft air. And our name shall be forgotten in time, and no man shall have our works in remembrance, and our life shall pass away as the trace of a cloud, and shall be disposed as a mist that is driven away with the beams of the sun and overcome with the heat thereof. For our time is a very shadow that passeth away; and after our end there is no returning; for it is fast sealed, so that no man cometh again."

Paul offered a reply to the wonder of Aristotle, "whether the dead really do partake of good or evil." Unlike other wise men who went before and came after him, he was not persuaded of the futility of attempting it; nor was he convinced that "a dialogue between two infants in the womb concerning the state of this world might handsomely illustrate our ignorance of the next."

Reasonable as the Greeks were, the future state was not a matter of entire indifference to them; although, as Cebes remarked to Socrates, in what concerned the soul they were apt to be incredulous, and agreed with Plato, that "surely it requires a great deal of argument and many proofs to show that when a man is dead his soul yet exists and has any force or intelligence." And yet upon the important question which Job puts: If a man die, shall he live again? it mattered little to Paul what wise men thought in comparison with what he felt.

Truly this resurrection of the body was a new thing to the Greeks. They yearned for immortality. They were not in love with easeful death. Their life was full and rich. With body and mind they enjoyed it. Their senses were fine and their intellects keen. Their passions were intense. They loved life: it was so good. Corresponding with their enjoyment of this world, they had a horror of the decay of death. To these ancient men it was an awful conception, this losing of the body, and the soul going forth naked, cold, and shuddering. They loved their souls. They must lose them, and they were sad. Their religion offered them no consolation. They had some vague notion of a future world, but it was a chill,

comfortless place of shadows and phantoms, like that in which Ulysses encountered his mother: “‘Mother mine, wherefore dost thou not tarry for me who am eager to seize thee, that even in Hades we twain may cast our arms each about the other, and satisfy us with chill lament? Is it but a phantom that the high goddess Persephone hath sent me, to the end that I may groan for more exceeding sorrow?’ So spake I, and my lady mother answered me anon: ‘Ah me, my child, luckless above all men. Nought doth Persephone, the daughter of Zeus, deceive thee: but even in this wise it is with mortals when they die. For the sinews no more bind together the flesh and the bones, but the force of burning fire abolishes them, so soon as the life hath left the white bones, and the spirit like a dream flies forth and hovers near.’”

In the funeral oration delivered by Pericles in memory of those who had fallen in war, as reported by Thucydides, there is not much comfort from the suggestion of any life but this: “I do not commiserate the parents of the dead who stand here. I would rather comfort them. You know that your life has been passed amid manifold vicissitudes: and that they may be deemed fortunate who have gained most honour, whether

an honourable death like theirs or an honourable sorrow like yours, and whose days have been so ordered that the term of their happiness is likewise the term of their life. Some of you are at an age at which they may hope to have other children, and they ought to bear their sorrow better. Not only will the children who may hereafter be born make them forget their own lost ones, but the city will be doubly a gainer. She will not be left desolate and she will be safer. For a man's counsels cannot be of equal weight and worth, when he alone has no children to risk in the general danger. To those of you who have passed their prime I say: 'Congratulate yourselves that you have been happy during the greater part of your days; remember that your life of sorrow will not last long, and be comforted by the glory of those who are gone. For the love of honour alone is ever young, and not riches, as some say, but honour is the delight of men when they are old and useless.' "

The epitaphs of the Greeks, which remain to us, are full of simple human feeling. They contain slight suggestion of a continuance of the life of the dead. The following is a precious example: "Farewell, tomb of Melité. The best of women lies here, who loved her loving husband, Ones-

mus. Thou wert most excellent, wherefore he longs for thee after thy death; for thou wert the best of wives." — "Farewell thou too, dearest husband; only love my children." The apocryphal literature of the Orphic sect constitutes an exception to this general statement. But the philosophy of life and death in nature, which that mystic brotherhood inculcated, never gained a free acceptance, at least until the time of the Roman Empire.

The fear of a God, of a power invisible, is always the beginning of wisdom in the minds of savages. The same fear was the beginning of wisdom to the Jews. Every new religion appeals to this desire for safety from obliteration after death, and in such manner did Paul appeal to the Greeks. I do not think his appeal touches us so nearly. Let us be quite frank. We do not believe that the thing which has died shall rise again. Our belief rather is that that which lives for ever has never died, cannot die.

What, now, was it that Paul preached to the Gentile world? That Jesus was the Son of God, that he died, and rose from the dead. However interested the philosophers might be in the first of his propositions, the people at large seized upon the last. That was the new thing which the Athenians

were anxious to hear about,—the resurrection of the dead. It was upon that question he was called before Felix, “touching the resurrection”; and two years afterwards, when Agrippa sat in the judgement seat, the case was “of one Jesus which was dead, whom Paul affirmed to be alive.” Of Agrippa he demanded: “Why should it be thought a thing incredible with you that God should raise the dead?” As if the announcement were not sufficiently startling, it was combined with the still more startling announcement that many of those then living should not be obliged even to go through the formality of dying.

When Paul said that Jesus arose from the grave, he meant precisely what he said. He saw the risen Jesus. It is one thing to believe Paul’s statement: it is quite another to accept his explanation of what really did occur. He was a firm believer in the resurrection of the flesh, as all Jews were, and the matter was brought to an issue in opposition to the Gnostics, who upheld a spiritual eschatology. They attacked Paul with his own words, that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom. The martyrs might well complain if they were to be put off with an immaterial body. They would say the thing had no meaning. To believe anything else was pure docetism,

against which the writers of the Pastoral Epistles delivered the full power of their argument, to show that Jesus was in reality a man, and not an appearance, that he died a real death, and rose with that body which had been laid in the grave.

The writer of the Fourth Gospel was prepared for this docetic heresy, that the risen Jesus was a phantom, which he puts into the mouth of Thomas in the words: "Except I shall see in his hands the print of the nails, and put my finger into the print of the nails, and thrust my hand into his side, I will not believe." Jesus appears and accepts the challenge with the words, "Reach hither thy hand, and thrust it into my side." Ignatius puts the case clearly when he asks: "Why should I suffer myself to be cast to the lions for a faith which rests upon an illusion?" Paul is equally clear in his declaration: "If Christ be not risen, then is our preaching vain, and your faith is also vain. If the dead rise not, what advantageth anything?" A man might then as well eat, drink, and be merry, if to-morrow he was about to die.

But this Jewish theory of the restoration of life to a body which, like the body of Lazarus, "already stank," was disgusting to the more sensitive Greeks. When the matter was brought before

them at Athens some mocked, and others said politely that they would like to hear more about it. Paul instantly abandoned his belief in the resurrection of the flesh, and devised the new theory of a spiritual body, thereby surrendering the very essence of his doctrine. It requires only the slightest capacity for the perception of absurdity to appreciate how feeble is the fallacy in his argument that the dead body is sown as a natural body and is raised as a spiritual body. It carries weight only because it in turn is borne up by his splendid declaration which ends with the cry of triumph, "O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?" Also this strange reasoning from the facts of agriculture, physiology, and astronomy passes unnoticed, because it is commonly heard upon occasion when the emotions are dominant over the intellect. Looking at the argument critically, one must dissent, and be prepared to accept for himself the opprobrious epithet which Paul applied to an equally recalcitrant objector of his own day.

All systems of religion have their origin in the desire for self-preservation. Prayers and sacrifices were first devised to avert the misery which would come from the destruction of cattle and the failure of crops. Any system in which there was a

reasonable probability of safety from death was sure of acceptance. When probability was transformed into certainty, success was assured. Jesus redeemed men from the fear of death by teaching them that death does not matter, that it also is a gift from God. Paul based his appeal on the more obvious ground that if men died at all, they would soon overcome the inconvenience. As a result they grew anxious to have the performance over. To die was gain. Courage to live gave place to indifference ; and fearlessness to a morbid craving for death, to which martyrdom was the readiest road. Disturbance of the normal attitude toward that event arises out of abnormal notions about what is to follow after. Exaggerated ideas of hell and heaven have an influence upon conduct in this world. As time went on, the doctrine of the resurrection became less spiritualized, and all the churches which were founded by Paul reverted to that grossly material belief of the Jews, by the bold declaration of which the Gentiles were won.

Judaism was a religion of national hope, which Christianity spiritualized and transformed into hope for the world. Paganism at its worst was a counsel of despair, and at its best little more than negation. The Golden Age was past and gone. Even if there were cycles of events in human his-

tory, these were only the slow gradations of decay. Of better things there was no promise. Vergil alone of all the poets introduced in his fourth Eclogue a note of hope into the despairing chorus; and so singular is it, that certain scholars have marked it as "Messianic," and attributed its origin to Hebrew influence. Christianity too had its golden age in Eden. True, that happy period was shared in by only two persons, and lasted not more than a comparatively few moments. Yet there was a way of return, and Paul had the explanation.

The one obvious fact in the world is the presence of death, obvious alike to Jew and Gentile, to Jesus and to us. Paul had an explanation of that too. The whole creation is in a state of misery. Death rules supreme, and clings to humanity like infected and "rotten rags." The cause of death is sin, and death passes upon all, because all have sinned in the rabbinical sense of Adam's sin, and in their own experience as well. Not only does he admit that all are free to sin and to incur the penalty; he affirms that sin is laid upon men as a necessity. In this he offers two explanations of the origin of sin, which are contradictory: the one, that it is due to Adam's fall; and the other, that it is due to the earthly nature which we in common with him inherit.

Paul is not concerned with reconciling these two statements, that sin is the cause and again the effect of the fall. He is more concerned with demonstrating the solidarity of the race, and the universality of sin, at the expense of admitting a second principle side by side with God, caring not that his thought becomes not Jewish and yet not wholly Greek, in order that he may demonstrate the supreme necessity for the death of Jesus and the universal validity of the sacrifice. "None is righteous; no, not one," is the pessimistic prelude to his apologetic that Jesus alone is the Redeemer of men.

To the Jewish mind, forgiveness could come only through sacrifice, and for such a condition as universal sin Paul declared nothing less than universal sacrifice would suffice. Accordingly Jesus must be the Messiah of God, in order that his propitiatory death should once and for all relieve men and angels from the necessity for any minor sacrifices. The law was fulfilled and destroyed in the same moment. Yet Paul freed this sacrifice from the gross idea that it was given to an angry god to turn away his wrath, or to a devil in order that he might release his hold. It was love alone which instigated God to this sacrifice of his Son, to certify to men that a complete act

of propitiation had taken place, of which they might fully avail themselves. The cross then becomes the symbol of God's love.

The Jews had their own method of dealing with sin, in which they employed rams, goats, turtle-doves, and young pigeons. It was not the way of Jesus. He said simply, Thy sins be forgiven thee, follow me. Those who accepted this advice were elevated to a peculiar condition of happiness. They were redeemed from sickness and suffering. The alienated from the church were brought back to God. The outcasts were consoled by his compassion. They received the love which they needed. They were redeemed from the theologians, from the Jewish church, from fear and care. By his fearlessness he gave them courage to face the temptations of the world. Even death he robbed of its terror. Death could not be a punishment for sin, since he, the sinless one, himself died. Such a combination of innocence and experience, ingenuousness and wisdom, observation and hope, austerity and blithesome joy, could exist only in the person of Jesus. When he perished, a fresh explanation was required of that miracle by which a man is turned away from following after evil and cleaves to that which is good.

Two methods presented themselves. Nay, there

was but one. His teaching was inseparable from his person. He was dead. Rightly or wrongly his followers presented him to their fellow-countrymen in a new guise. They declared that he was the Messiah, and his death the supreme and all-sufficient sacrifice.

This attempt to make of Jesus the Messiah was a bold one. Success would mean that the stronghold of Jewish aspiration had been captured, because it was upon this idea that all the national hope was fixed. The best account which we have of the dominance of this faith is contained in "The Book of Jubilees," written in Hebrew by a Pharisaic upholder of the Maccabean dynasty, discovered complete in an Ethiopic version, and translated by Dr. R. H. Charles, Professor of Biblical Greek in Trinity College, Dublin. This book is a reëditing of early history, whereby the spirit of later Judaism is infused into the primitive history of the world. The object of the writer was to defend Judaism against those who were protesting that the time had come for the Levitical ordinance of the law to be swept away, and for Israel to take its place in the brotherhood of the nations. He endeavoured to show that the law was of everlasting validity, that it had been kept in heaven by the angels, and would be kept to all

eternity. These were the palmiest days of the Maccabean dominion, in which the immediate advent of the Messiah sprung from Judah was expected, whose kingdom would be realized on earth, and the transformation of physical nature would go hand in hand with the ethical transformation of the people. There would be a new heaven and a new earth. All sin and pain would disappear, and men would live to the age of a thousand years in happiness and peace, and after death enjoy a blessed immortality in the spirit world.

The Messiahship must have been revolting to Jesus, especially in the earlier part of his ministry. To him the suggestion was the voice of Satan, that he should attain to power and sovereignty as an earthly king. To whatever degree he may have acquiesced in the idea before his death, it was entirely foreign to his nature that he should think of himself as a conqueror on a white steed at the head of a heavenly host, and the eagles gathered together to devour the dead bodies of the slain.

The advent of this Messiah was important to the Jews alone. The Gentiles were to have no part in the realization of the hope, and the course of Christianity was shaped to conform with this

narrow national ambition. It is as if Christian Scientists were to write the life of the founder of their sect to prove that in their society was realized the Utopia of which Mr. Wells prophesied. To us Gentiles the appearance of the Messiah was an event rather to be dreaded, since the Hebrew race has never been winsome in its moment of triumph. It is in the light of this hope we must read the Gospels. Jesus said, "I thirst," not because he was enduring the last things, but "in order that the scripture might be fulfilled," as the later writers, Matthew and John, are so careful to record. The Old Testament was ransacked for proof that Jesus was the promised one. The sacrifices and trespass-offerings, the offering up of Isaac, the brazen serpent in the wilderness, were interpreted in this sense, and the apologists did not refrain from forgery in striving to strengthen their cause.

Descent from David was necessary, and after the death of Jesus a genealogy was constructed, a feat to which his relatives would not object. Rather, two genealogies were contrived to meet the case, which unfortunately differ from each other in certain important particulars; but the task was comparatively easy, as the discovery of the miraculous birth had not yet been made. This

Davidic theory implied that Bethlehem was the scene of the nativity, although it was well known that Jesus came from Nazareth. To meet this difficulty, the first evangelist explains how it came about that Jesus lived in Nazareth, and Luke has an elaborate, though circumstantial, account of the circumstances under which the child came to be born in the proper place. Another difficulty was the baptism by John, since that implied the inferiority of Jesus. This was avoided by all three evangelists, each in his own way. Matthew records that Jesus merely suffered himself to be baptized. Luke lessens the difficulty by recording the magnanimous testimony of the Baptist; and John makes him the first to confess Jesus publicly.

A new difficulty arose. Jesus was obviously a man, and a layman at that, as Professor Wernle, who above all investigators combines religious feeling with sane scholarship and calm criticism, continually insists. He was born and brought up amongst his neighbours. They knew his parents, his brothers, his sisters; and quite probably they employed him to exercise his trade. They had no suspicion of his greatness. His own parents thought him mad. In the earlier account of his life as given by Mark we are continually reminded of the limitations of his physical and

even of his moral powers. He is obliged to seek information from his followers. He asks them the subject of their conversation, how long the epileptic had suffered from his malady, what was the name of the demon, and who it was that had touched him. He does not know the day nor hour of the Parousia, nor has he authority to assign places of honour in heaven. At times he cannot perform miracles. He cannot heal the sick nor make the blind to see. He will not even suffer himself to be called good, an admission which the later evangelists are careful to omit. These facts were inconvenient, and they disposed of them by the easy literary devices which were commonly employed in those days.

But the chief obstacle to the claims of Messiahship was the fact of Jesus' death. That could not be denied, nor was it desirable that it should be. On the contrary, evidence was offered that it was so. The testimony of the Roman soldiers was given, and, as if to make doubly sure, the incident of the spear-thrust was put forward. This objection was met by the affirmation that Jesus rose from the dead. The Jews admitted the possibility, but explained the occurrence in a manner which brought credit to themselves. It was well known, they said, that a body placed in a

tomb which was occupied by that of a prophet would revive when it came in contact with the sacred bones. The answer to this was that the body of Jesus had been laid in a new sepulchre that was hewn out of a rock, wherein never man before was laid. Finally the Jews retorted that the disciples had stolen the body, but this charge was refuted by the story of the sealing of the tomb, and the watch which was set. And so the contention went on and grew in intensity, as one may learn who reads the Gospels in the order in which they were written. The Jews asserted that the death of Jesus was a punishment. To this the Christians retorted, "Yes; but for your sins." The controversy was in this simple form when Paul appeared upon the scene, importing new conceptions of sacrifice, propitiation, and redemption. By a rapid manipulation of these theological ideas, he complicated the subject, confused his opponents, and left to us this speculative burden of sin and its atonement. The things which we prize in the life of Jesus were of little value in the estimation of Paul. His life was as nothing in comparison with the theological importance of his death.

There was nothing improbable in the resurrection of Jesus. The Jews were convinced upon

much less striking testimony that the Baptist had risen from the dead ; and it was a settled conviction amongst the Greeks that Asklepios, who had been struck by lightning, ascended up into heaven. Clement found a powerful analogy in the case of the Phoenix. Yet Paul was not content to take for granted a fact which was so amply attested by Peter, by the twelve, by himself, and by five hundred of the brethren, of whom many were yet alive and amenable to questions. He proceeded to prove it by ethical considerations. He attempted a theoretical explanation of it, and so raised the controversy above vulgarity. The death and resurrection implied that the old was at an end, — sin, death, the ruin of Adam's fall, — and that the day of the heavenly kingdom had already dawned. But experience was against him. The flesh continued to lust against the spirit, and his experiment in founding Jewish Christianity upon a miracle had failed. He did not succeed in convincing the Jews, even if he succeeded in convincing himself. The parable of the sower had a fresh application. The task was impossible.

The idea of the priesthood was so ingrained in the Jewish nature that the next move was to make of Jesus a high priest ; and in this attempt the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews exercises

unusual theological subtlety. Jesus might be the son of David. Obviously he was not of the priestly line. But he was something greater. He was a high priest after the order of Melchisedec, that ghostly figure to whom Abraham paid tithes, and offered other marks of reverence. The authority of Jesus was therefore, in point of antiquity, greater than that of any priest, even were it Aaron himself. In other respects also his superiority was revealed. The priests of Aaron were many; they were sinful; they worshipped in a temple made with hands; they made atonement year by year with the blood of bulls and calves. But Jesus was one; he was sinless; he worshipped in the heavenly temple; he made atonement once for all, and that with his own blood. In all this the author is very clever, but not clever enough to notice that Jesus cannot at the same time be victim and priest and yet maintain his authority.

This theological trifling would do very well for the Jews. The Greeks were not more interested in the Messiah than we are. They demanded a god, or at least the son of a god, and forthwith their need was supplied. Nor was this task easy even in the hands of Paul, in face of the deep humility of Jesus, who rebuked the rich young man with

the words, "Why callest thou me good? There is none good but God."

To the Greek mind the idea was very familiar that the gods walked the earth in human form, and the very process of reasoning which Paul applied to Jesus was now applied to himself. At Lystra, where he had healed the man who was impotent in his feet,—a thing he might easily do, seeing that the man had faith to be healed,—the people cried with one voice, "The gods are come down to us in the likeness of men"; and the priest of Jupiter brought oxen and garlands unto the gates and would have done sacrifice with the people. Again, when the barbarous people of Melita saw him shake off into the fire the viper which had fastened itself onto his hand, and that he did not swell up or fall down dead, they changed their minds and said that he was a god.

It is worth remarking that the accounts which are given of the miracles which Paul performed are given with some reserve. We are not told that he was actually bitten by the venomous beast. When he was stoned by the Jews who had come from Antioch and Iconium, and came to himself again, he was only supposed to have been dead. Again, the fortunate young man, Eutychus, who

as Paul was long preaching sunk down with sleep and fell from the third loft, and was taken up for dead, was not in reality dead, for the Apostle specifically declared that they should not trouble themselves, as his life was yet in him.

Simon Magus claimed openly that he was a god. The Emperor Augustus was publicly acclaimed as *dominus ac deus noster*. In Egypt the Ptolemies had been equally blessed. The Stoic sect of Heraclitus went still further and declared that all men are gods, and the Neo-Platonists spoke of their philosophers indifferently as lord, god, angel. Finally, when Polycarp was burned by the Smyrnæans, they took measures that the Christians should not accord to him divine honours. In this case, however, there was an especial reason for deification, since he had died the martyr's death, and in the Semitic sacrificial ritual the blood of the martyr possessed a peculiar virtue in the atonement for sin. That is the reason, also, why the blood of Jesus so readily lent itself to theological speculation and reflection. The fourth book of the Maccabees gives the best account of the power which vicarious suffering exercises upon the determination of God. The whole theory of punishment and propitiation was applied to the death of Jesus, by which it was transformed

from a manifestation of love to a juridical and forensic affair, as merely the mechanical fulfilment of prophecy, for no other reason than "that the scriptures might be fulfilled."

The Jews protested. They accused the Christians of idolatry; and they in turn, to defend themselves, transferred this charge to Jesus, assigning it as the cause of his condemnation to death. Mark merely suggests. John reproduces the accusation plainly: "He blasphemeth God in that he, being a man, made himself equal to God." If this were the charge upon which Jesus was condemned, then the statement contained in it must be true, and the Pauline theory correct.

The Greeks misunderstood the Hebrew usage in respect of the word "son." They supposed that Son of God meant a heavenly being who had proceeded in some mysterious way from the Father, whilst in reality it had a general meaning such as is found in the expression, sons of the Pharisees, sons of the kingdom, sons of the devil, or sons of hell. Then, by analogy with other myths of the gods, the parentage of the Son of God is ascribed to God and a mortal woman, as described in the opening chapters of the First and Third Gospels. Most of the Jewish Christians rejected it, as it did away with the descent from

David. Of course the Christian spirit worked upon this heathen fabrication and removed from it every trace of sensuality. Justin found an analogy with Perseus, who was born of a virgin, and Celsus found further analogies in Amphion, Æacus, and Minos. His death, too, was compared with that of Asklepios, who was struck by lightning, Dionysos, who was dismembered, and Hercules, who was burned on the funeral pyre.

The Jews as the chosen people were the sons of God, replacing the angels who previously bore that high designation. Paul transferred the title to all Christians, as in the letter to the Galatians, "Because ye are sons, God sent forth the Spirit into your hearts." But when in the development of his thought Jesus came to occupy a more exalted position, the term Son was reserved for him alone, and Christians were spoken of as children.

But Paul never uses deliberately the expression, Son of God, in its specific sense. It is only when he is under the influence of strong emotion, and attains to one of his splendid elevations of thought, that he assigns to Jesus a closer relation to God than that which is implied by love alone. The "divinity of Christ" had not yet become a subject of theological speculation, of dogmatic statement, or settled belief. To Paul Jesus was "a

man such as we are," in spite of the equivocal expressions in which the words "image," "picture," "pattern," and "likeness" appear. To the Greeks he was a god who had descended from heaven; and they were now in possession of a new "idea" like those with which they were familiar. But the death of this god was to the Greeks a stumbling-block, as the death of the Messiah had been to the Jews an offence. A theoretical explanation of the event must be found, if the Jews were to be silenced and the Gentiles won.

Until our own time it was accounted a horrible thing to distinguish between the deity and the divinity of Jesus. It was upon that question Michael Servetus went to the stake. In his sympathetic study of that strange man, Professor Osler affirms that, if the victim had been willing to transpose one word in his confession, the burning sulphur in his crown of straw would have been quenched. It was all an affair of *Jesus eternus filius Dei*, or *Jesus filius æterni Dei*. I do not think, however, that he makes enough of the Christian charity of Calvin, who plead for the heretic the gentle courtesy of the ax, rather than the extreme penalty, *estre brusle tout vyfz*.

It is only fair to remark that it was the authors of the Gospels and not Paul who fully elaborated

this theory. He knew nothing of those writings, and makes no reference to their authority. His description of the Last Supper may be drawn from an earlier source ; it may have been received from one who was actually present at the meal. Paul never went so far as to elevate Jesus to an equality with God. The utmost he conceded was that he was higher than the angels. It was left for the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews to force into Christianity the Alexandrine conception that the world was created by the Son of God. That made it easy for the writer of the Fourth Gospel to declare in his prologue, "In the beginning was the logos, and the logos was with God, and the logos was a god."

This bold declaration served a double purpose. It reduced the intermediary beings from a heavenly host of angels to one, and strengthened the belief in Jesus, as one "who verily was fore-ordained before the foundation of the world, but was manifest in these last times for you." It squared with the Semitic belief that the Messiah eternally dwelt with God, and that his appearance was merely a transition from concealment to publicity. The temple itself was in heaven. Moses saw it when he was on the Mount, and its appearance on earth was merely the result of a

revelation. A heavenly origin was also secured for the patriarchs, the law, the church, indeed for all things of real value. They were hidden with God until the time of their appearance was fulfilled. According to this theory Jesus was a revelation, not an incarnation, and the difficult question was settled as to what became of his body when he ascended to heaven.

Nothing could be more absurd than putting Paul to the question about matters of which he had no knowledge. There is no hint in his letters that he had been informed that Jesus ascended up into heaven. Those writings which are so familiar to us under the name of Gospels and Acts were not open to his view, and upon only one possible occasion does he refer to their contents. He knew nothing of a risen Jesus who eat fish, expounded doctrine, passed through closed doors, and upbraided the eleven for their hardness of heart and disbelief that he had risen. Neither, we must admit, was he baffled, as we are, by the contradictory accounts which are given by Luke and John, the one affirming that the ascension took place upon the day of the resurrection, the other that the event was delayed for forty days. Both accounts cannot be correct, and the discrepancy suggests the suspicion that both may be inaccurate.

It is difficult for us to comprehend that we are the Gentiles of whom Jesus and the disciples spoke. Neither he nor they thought much about us. And yet all Protestant Gentiles habitually think of themselves as Jews. We have incorporated into ourselves the hatreds of the Maccabees, and cast about for some object upon which those passions may expend themselves. We hear read that lovely lyric of the captivity in which the exile sits and weeps by the river of Babylon, whilst song and mirth is required of him. For him there is some excuse for the utterance of that fearful imprecation upon his tormentor and oppressor, "Happy shall he be that taketh and dasheth thy little ones against the stones." For us there is none ; and yet we make the curse our own, and strive for some object upon which it may expend itself. In default of oppressor and tormentor there is no other than some rival sect ; and this Hebrew bitterness is poured out upon Catholic, Episcopalian, or Presbyterian, as the case may be. This Hebraic frame of mind persists because traditional Christianity is cast in a Jewish mould.

V

The Greeks before long had a system of religion which they could comprehend by reason of

its mysteriousness. Christianity had been sublimated into a more elaborate mystery than their own Eleusinian rites; yet both were expressed in the same terms, or, at least, in terms which were interchangeable. Symbolism, ritual, ceremonial, and highly dramatized representation was the only method by which the Greeks could enter into the meaning of religious truth. After six centuries their religious performance had grown so extravagant and unreal that it lost its power over the imagination and the life. They yearned for something new, for a "restatement," as their young preachers doubtless expressed the need. Amongst the sect of the Nazarenes, now expanded into the community of the Christians, they found the new thing which they desired.

At the outset of the Christian ceremonial the Greeks encountered a process of purification by washing in the running water of a sacred river, devised by one who was known as the Baptist. They did not know what it signified; and even Professor Harnack confesses that no one yet understands what was meant by the baptism of John. It was foreign to Jewish ritual. Jesus himself did not baptize, Paul was sent to preach, not to perform ceremonies: and he thanks God that he had baptized none of the Corinthians,

save Gaius, and Crispus, and the household of Stephanas.

The utmost we can say is that the baptism of John was a baptism to repentance in contradistinction with the baptism performed in the name of Jesus, which was a baptism of forgiveness, performed upon adults alone with consecrated water, that is, with water from which the evil spirits which infested all material things had been banished. But presently the idea of forgiveness disappeared. There was no longer any miraculous communication of the spirit, and the rite became rather a guarantee of a blessing than a blessing in itself, a means by which "enlightenment" might come. The very word suggests that we are now upon Greek ground. To the Greeks it would suggest the initiatory rite by which entrance was gained into the lesser mysteries, a purification by bathing in a stream under the ministration of the *hydranos*, the bather or sprinkler.

Entrance into the greater mystery was not permitted until a year later, and the ceremony took place in the city after a solemn procession and formal cleansing of the temple. The Greeks had heard that the public ministry of Jesus had occupied an exact year, and that he did not go up to the sacred city until nine days before its expi-

ration. They had read of the great procession in which "multitudes went before and followed after" him, and that upon his arrival in Jerusalem he purified the temple. They could not fail to notice in the Gospel of Mark that expression so strange to us, and still more strange on account of its omission from all the later Gospels: "He would not suffer that any man should carry a vessel through the temple"; and they would remember that it was to the entrants alone into the priesthood of Demeter that it was permitted to carry the sacred vessel and repeat the formula, "I have borne the *kernos*."

At Athens there was a sacred fig-tree at which the procession halted, and they had read that Jesus, returning from Bethany on the second day, saw a fig-tree afar off, and rested in its shade. These simple-minded heathen, in their ignorance of Jewish polemics, could not comprehend the significance of the incident and of the curse which was laid upon the innocent tree; that it was in reality an oblique condemnation of Israel and not a mere manifestation of truculence in a moment of disappointment and the temporary irritation of hunger. The ceremony of purification was also familiar to them, and there would be nothing strange in the incident of Jesus washing the disciples' feet,

or of the earlier account of the "man bearing a pitcher of water."

In the account of the infant lying in the manger until he was "found" by the shepherds, they would see an analogy of the old rite in which at midnight in the shortest day of the year the women went forth to the mountain-side and found the new-born god, Licnites, cradled in a winnowing-sieve. In the cry of the Baptist, "Behold the lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world," they might well recall the sacred fleece which was laid upon the feet of sinners, when their sins had been washed away, — the emblem of Iacchus, the redeeming god.

In the incident of the marriage-feast at Kana-Galilee, an educated Greek would find a replica of the feast of Kalligeneia, the "mother of the fair child." So far as we can learn, there was no place in Galilee by the name of Kana. The "mother of the fair child" would appear to him to be identical with the mother of Jesus, who is twice mentioned as being present at the feast; and the "drawers-up" of the wine would be a forcible reminder of the "drawers-up" in the earlier ceremony. In the miracle of the herd of swine which ran violently down a steep place into the lake and were choked, he would recognize the entomb-

ing of pigs during the festival of the Thesmophoria.

Nor would the Greeks find the Last Supper of the Gospels an innovation. They could not understand what Jesus meant when he said : " I am the living manna which came down from Heaven " ; but his sudden transference of thought to the idea of drink would remind them of their own common meal upon the fifth day of the Eleusinian mysteries, at which the celebrants partook together of a mixture compounded of barley-meal and water, which was so thickened as to be at once food and drink.

The most solemn part of their ceremony was " the handing over of the holy things," one of which was a sesame cake ; and they had read in Mark that Jesus, having blessed the unleavened bread, broke it, and said simply, " Take ye." Possibly they were not acquainted with the later formula given by Matthew, " Take, eat, this is my body," and consequently they would not be mystified by the innovation. Also in the account of the Last Supper as recorded by Luke there is mention of two cups. The one was used before supper with the words, " Take this, and divide it among yourselves." The second cup was used after the food had been eaten, as was the custom amongst

celebrants proceeding to the higher stages in the mysteries. It was at a comparatively late period that this handing over of the elements was interpreted as a handing over or betrayal of Jesus; and it came about from the fact that the same word in Greek as well as in English is used to express the two different ideas of betrayal and handing over. In the more specific account of the betrayal we are told that one of the disciples kissed Jesus fervently, not with the kiss of a traitor, but "again and again," as a lover would. To us Judas is the arch-traitor; to the Greeks he may well have been the analogue of the priest who handed over the most sacred of all things. Even the linen cloth is not wanting in which the precious thing might be wrapped; for do we not read of that certain young man who, having a linen cloth cast about his naked body, left the linen cloth and fled from them naked?

A more obvious resemblance to their own religion which the Greeks would find in Christianity was in the jesting and reviling to which the entrants were subjected, as they went through the streets crowned with myrtle, a fawn-skin over the shoulders, and a staff in the hand. Jesus, they read, had been clad in a scarlet robe; a wreath of acanthus was placed upon his head; a reed

was put in his hand; and he was mocked and reviled. At this time it had not occurred to the Jews that the casting of lots and the scourging were indulged in merely that "the scriptures might be fulfilled." That discovery was made only by the writer of the Fourth Gospel. The Greeks would find in it a reference to the small bones of their own mysteries, which were used singly as dice for gaming, and as a scourge when strung together. The last words which Jesus uttered would convey to a Greek who had attained to the highest place in the mysteries the same meaning which was implied by his own words: "All has been performed; the consecration is complete."

To the Jews the crucifixion was the great stumbling-block. To the Greeks it was possible to explain it in a symbolical and figurative sense. Indeed the word employed by the writers of the Gospels to signify "crucify" signified in classical Greek to enclose with palisades, to set apart, to fence, to consecrate. This is the word in that passage from "Empedocles on Etna," which Matthew Arnold renders:

"Thou keepest aloof the profane. . . .
 Thou *fencest* him from the multitude —
 Who will *fence* him from himself?"

Finally, the sacred place of Demeter was in "a grove"; it was hewn out of "a rock," and was known as the cell or sepulchre. In the mysteries, "a memento" was given to the votaries, who kept it "in a linen cloth"; and they could read of that counsellor who "bought fine linen, and took him down, and wrapped him in the linen, and laid him in a memorial place which had been hewn out of a rock." This is the account which Mark gives, and the writings of Matthew may not then have been extant, in which "memorial place" is in our translation made to read "tomb."

I have thought well to set forth this subtle exegesis at some length by availing myself freely of Mr. Slade Butler's adroit scholarship,¹ his cleverness in contriving analogies, and dexterity in devising expedients, so that nothing now remains to be said, save this: that a picturesque and fantastic allegorizing of an event does not convey an intimation that the event had not really occurred. On the contrary, it rather adds certainty that Jesus was "lifted up," and in virtue of that draws all men unto him.

When Judaistic Christianity emerged in its nebulous form from the Greek mind, fortunately it fell under the domination of the Roman idea of

¹ *Nineteenth Century*, March, 1905; December, 1906.

law and order. It passed over from the hungry Greeklings, as Juvenal describes the inhabitants of Corinth, to the stalwart Romans of Philippi, whom Paul loved above all his converts. From these alone would he receive any contribution to his support, preferring to labour with his own hands rather than accept favours from the supple Greeks.

A closer organization of the church was the first effect of the Roman influence, and with it went the hardening of enthusiasm into a creed. It is a mistake, however, to suppose that the church at any time has ever deliberately formulated a creed. Occasionally, as a measure of defence, it has been compelled to define its position within closer lines. The Nicene Creed was directed against the Arians; the Heidelberg Catechism was meant to exclude Catholics, as the creed of Pius IV was meant to exclude Protestants, and the Westminster Confession the Arminians.

Jesus founded no church and consequently required no creed; but at the earliest moment in which the first germ of a church is discovered we are inevitably faced with the dogma: *extra ecclesiam nulla salus*. Originally all that was required was an openness of mind so that the spirit of God might gain an entrance; and Paul himself in the outset demanded nothing more than this. But in

no long time we find him making salvation to depend upon belief in certain doctrines: that Jesus is the Lord; that he was raised up from the dead; and, eventually, that one must have faith in a theoretical explanation of the resurrection. With much labour and with many devices of metaphor and allegory Paul welded Christ and the church into a unity. He set up justification by faith in opposition to Jewish justification by works, ordinances, and observances. He formulated a new legal conception to supplant the older legalism. Before the end he had furnished the church with a full set of dogmatic propositions: that Jesus was the Son of God, that he died and rose from the dead, that he would come again in the near future, that in the meantime he was sitting at the right hand of God above the angels, and that he was the subject of all prophecy. By assent to these doctrines salvation was alone to be assured. Probably the writer of the Acts went too far when he ascribed a vicarious value to such belief, by which a man's household as well as himself might be saved.

To this Pauline doctrine — died, buried, rose on the third day — the writers of the Pastoral Epistles added still more debatable matter: of the House of David, under Pontius Pilate, who shall come to judge the quick and the dead. The

descent into Hades appears definitely only in the First Epistle of Peter. The virgin birth, with the Davidic genealogy of Mary, came into the canon only in sub-apostolic times.

Concurrently with the development of dogma went the firmer organization of the church to make it more effective; and as early as the date of the Epistle of John the mark of the Christian was already declared to be abiding in the tradition. The place of Jesus was forgotten. Instead of reading, as we may in the first letter to the Corinthians, "for other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ," we read in the letter to the Ephesians, "are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets." Jesus is merely the "chief corner," and presently the apostles become the "holy apostles."¹

In the second century, when the Christian body was growing inwardly cold, it became necessary to strengthen the spiritual force by exterior bonds, by the authority of the institution and of the sacramental rite. The word of God then yielded place to the word of the bishop. For faith in Him was substituted the rule of faith; for repentance and piety, the sacrament; discipline for fraternal love; and obedience for inspiration.

¹ Eph. iii, 5.

The average man will take the easiest way; and reliance upon an official or a church is much easier than individual investigation of the proper line of conduct. Newman chose the obvious method. A more trivial instance is found in a letter which Mr. Robert C. S. Bailey wrote to the "Spectator," June 5th, 1909. If he were in a situation of difficulty, such as whether or not he should dispense the elements to a "Dissenter," he should "first have consulted the Bishop." Accordingly, he "should have considered himself bound."

In a similar way, common men require something external as a guarantee for their salvation. Hence they seize upon historic occurrences and material things like blood, water, wine, bread; and eventually a figment replaces the reality, as the theological interpretation of the blood of Christ was substituted for the person of Jesus.

Whatever we may think of the attempt of Paul to find a basis for the authority of Jesus in Hebrew prophecy, we cannot remain blind to the fact that it saved the Old Testament for us, and probably created the New. By establishing the foundations of Christianity in Hebrew Scripture he rescued it from those Gnostics who with only

a partial knowledge of its contents attributed its authorship to Satan.

It is a reasonable subject of speculation in how far we would suffer if we had been deprived of an account of the Levitical ceremonial and Hebraistic theology. I think the principal value of it is that it has carried down to us the glorious apostrophes, the appeals for righteousness, which were made by righteous men. I do not understand that the capacity to foretell the future was their principal claim to consideration. All the prophets of Israel did not speak the truth, as Jeremiah discovered; and Ahab consulted four hundred of them, of whom all but one were impostors. As old Hobbes observed, "Though God can speak to a man by dreams and visions, yet he obliges no man to believe he hath done so to him that pretends it, who being a man may err, and which is more, may lie." A translation of the Hebrew text gradually took the place of Jesus, and a reverence for it was carried over to the Gentiles, who found in it new lessons of morality and hope. The Old Testament became a Christian book, and Christianity, now become a book religion, must have a book of its own.

As the Apostles died, it was necessary to preserve the tradition which they in turn had in-

herited, and out of this necessity arose the canon of the scriptures of the New Testament. Many writings extant at the formation of the canon were omitted, and these omissions imply a theory in the minds of the compilers of what the tradition was. If such a task fell to our lot in these days, a different result might have been achieved. We should entrust it to a committee, and there might well be grave misgivings about the doctrine which should issue from its deliberations. A Council, composed, we shall say, of the Moderator of the General Assembly, the Primate of England, Adolf Harnack, Auguste Sabatier, the Bishop of Rome, and Newell Dwight Hillis, who were charged with the duty of writing in collaboration a life of Jesus from original and authentic documents, and adding such other writings as might be considered helpful in understanding him, could scarcely be expected to accomplish a finished product, no matter how sincere the attempt, which would be more satisfactory than that which we now possess.

The labours of these earlier compilers have not escaped criticism. Luther could not see that the circular letter of James to the twelve tribes was anything but an epistle of straw, or that the Apocalypse was more than a political pamphlet.

Zwingli condemned it utterly, and Calvin omitted it from his Commentary on the Bible. Nor is such criticism entirely an affair of scholarship. Luther was no scholar, and yet he was a most trenchant critic of the received canon. There is a religious sense, as there is a musical sense, or a sense for the proper arrangement of words which may be found in a dictionary. It was in virtue of this religious genius, and not by historical research or classical learning, that Luther put an end to the juridical authority of the canon, and to that juristico-scholastic system of theology which had grown up as a result of its interpretation by professional divines.

If Paul himself had had a hand in the formation of the canon, it is entirely probable that the result would have been somewhat different. In his argument he says repeatedly, "It is written," and we cannot find the place. In the Pastoral Epistle of Jude also, there are references to prophecies with which Protestants at least are not furnished in their Bible. The writer of the Second Epistle of Peter, who for some reason incorporates in his own the earlier letter of Jude, was keen enough to notice the discrepancy, and carefully omitted the reference to the extra-canonical books.

I am not valuing more lightly than I ought the results of scholarship and research. There are certain aspects of Jesus, more interesting than important, it is true, which we would fail entirely to apprehend, did we not know that he belonged to the Semitic family, that he was born at a certain period in the world's history, and lived in Lower Asia. By his race we shall explain the non-speculative character of his mind. In virtue of that, he was content to unite man with him as he was united with God, and did not trouble himself or them with any theoretical explanation of the process. He united man to man by the simple injunction of love to one's neighbour. He knew God as the son knows the father, and not by that abstract knowledge after which the Greeks were continually striving. He had no theory of salvation. That was left for Paul. He had thought only for the individual. Paul was concerned for the church, whilst Jesus strove to free religion from all entanglement with the contingent, as George Tyrrell, dead too soon, so broadly describes his mission. The very prayer which he taught to his disciples is a practical Jewish prayer. The conditions under which he lived, in a word the politics of Palestine, must be understood, if one would realize how true it is that he

came in the fulness of time. To explain that, is the business of the scholar.

None but Jesus could understand himself. His disciples and the apostles who came after proceeded to offer their own explanation. In any consideration of the history of early Christianity, if we forget that Jesus is dead, that he no longer speaks to us even through the confused intelligence of his reporters, then we are lost. We are in reality dealing with the impressions and opinions which ignorant and sinful men entertained of his nature and work; and they have left on every page of their writings evidence of how sadly they misunderstood. There is not extant any record made by Jesus himself or by any of those who walked with him. We need not lament too bitterly that these Galilean fishermen set down nothing with their own hand. Writing is a work of art, and no writer, however skilled, can tell the truth about a person whom he does not understand. By the increased authority which such documents would have, we should the more surely be led astray.

It is one of the little ironies of history that Protestantism has become the last refuge of dogma. A book-religion is written in a book once for all, wherein all may read. In the Catholic

church a new dogma may be promulgated at any moment, which may affect the old ; indeed, as late as July 18th, 1870, such a dogma was added to the faith. If a Protestant ask, " What is truth ? " he is referred to a book. A Catholic has for reply the teaching of the church, and he would be a bold man who should say what the teaching of the church really is, upon any given question. There is nothing which the Catholic church hates so much as being obliged to define or affirm everything which must be believed. When a dogma is wrested from her by force, she qualifies it by whole and half dogmas, directions, opinions, and doctrinal propositions, by which it is rendered innocuous. The church is reluctant about asking a man to believe more than is necessary. To a Christianity which presupposes a personal experience which has an important bearing upon disposition, conduct, and character, the Catholic church has added a ritualistic Christianity of sacraments, ceremonial, and obedience ; whilst Protestantism insists upon an intellectual Christianity in which knowledge supplants faith, and doctrine replaces living experience. Catholics and Protestants are both right, and they are both wrong.

To critics skulking on the outskirts of litera-

ture, and knowing little about theology and less about God, it is only too congenial a task launching their clumsy shafts against phantoms. Ignorant of history, they are unaware that the doctrine of the three-one and the one-three was of vital importance when the one-God idea was struggling with polytheism; that the tenets of Arius were opposed because, if they had prevailed, the Pantheon would again have been introduced into the official religion of the Empire; that an acceptance of Gnosticism would have dissipated into abstract thought the person of Jesus; that in the contest against Montanism it was a question of order against anarchy; that the mediæval Papacy, with all its theoretical imperfections, was on that very account the better means of keeping the church together in the face of barbarian conquest, of spreading civilization, and carrying the spirit over the dreary wastes through the thick darkness of those ages.

The value of the various theories of God was incalculable in the times in which they prevailed. The doctrine of the Trinity was vitally important. Men had trusted so long in a multiplicity of gods, that it was asking too much of them to put their faith in one. They were offered a trinity of gods as a compromise; and monotheism was appeased

by the suggestion that three in reality means one. The attempt to steer a course between Sabellianism, that is the consubstantial unity of the Father and the Son, and Arianism, which implies that the Son is not co-unbegotten with the Father and unoriginate, was really a successful effort in the same direction. The struggle against Gnosticism was in reality an attempt to save the humanity of Jesus from those who would make of him a process of thought. By gathering itself together, opposing, cursing, persecuting those who would destroy it, the mediæval Papacy maintained the very existence of a religious organization. In exactly the same spirit the Pastoral and Johannine Epistles were directed against heretical teachers, such as those at Colossæ, who boasted of their Jewish circumcision, their Greek philosophy, and ascetic practices.

The theological devil has always been the "enemy" who sows tares, who instills intellectual doubts of the complete efficacy of any ecclesiastical system. That is the meaning of the plaintive enquiry which Paul addressed to the Galatians: "Am I become the enemy because I speak the truth?" In this there is a fine subtlety of insight, since abstract thought, detached from the reality of things as they are, and carried to its absolute

conclusion, would decree not only the extinction of any system, but of the race which it is intended to serve. In this sure instinct lies the ultimate motive for the persecution of new ideas.

A foolish and ignorant person who follows the controversy which raged for four centuries between the homousians and the homoiusians; the pneumatomachians, Athanasians, and theopaschitians; between those who held to the doctrine of the hypostasis and those who fastened their salvation from hell to the exhypostasis; between the rival heresies of aphthartodoketism and phthartolatry, may suppose this is a horrible jargon taken from the pages of Dean Swift. Such an one is a foolish and ignorant person, because he does not see that by a successful issue from these controversies the church preserved itself and civilization at the same time. To transpose these mutations of theological opinion to our own time is like an attempt to revive the Heptarchy. And yet it is not more than two years since I read a new book, — why, I cannot now say, — by a Protestant too, upon the Christophany, the theophany, the pneumatophany, the basilophany, the Satanophany, and the pseudo-prophetophany, — words which a man may read, and also write, without the faintest idea of their meaning for us.

VI

The image of erudition which I have created out of these various shreds and scraps of learning, which any one may pick up at random, will not in the face of this warning deceive even the least experienced. It is merely a method of presentation which goes well with a fragmentary way of thinking. I propose now to apply to present conditions the considerations which have been put forward. I can make no sanguine prediction as to the result of my effort; and if I am too ignorant to come to a rational conclusion, I am also too obstinate to desist.

I have said that religion cannot exist without at least an implied theology. It would be nearly as true to say that religion cannot exist side by side with theology. When theology flourishes, religion fails. Every minister expelled from his pulpit, or professor from his chair, for anything but evil living, is a triumph for theology and a defeat for religion. This contrariety of expression will appear strange only to those who never get near enough to the truth to see something of its other side. If we could understand the paradox of the world, we should be as gods and not as men. "Theology has killed religion," Paul Saba-

tier laments. He is wrong. When the pressure becomes too great, religion bursts theology in pieces. The secret of Jesus is in the habit of losing itself under an accumulation of theological rubbish, where it remains to be re-discovered by men like Paul, St. Augustine, St. Francis, and Wesley. That is their value to humanity, to us. Not for their theology, but because, as Professor Harnack says, they remind the world that such an one as Jesus once lived. In doing that they supersede all systems, their own among the rest.

No system of theology has ever won attention which did not recognize that all previous systems had arisen as a product and expression of the experience and need of the time; and that itself is vital only in so far as it reflects the life in which it lives. Accordingly, theology is not a catalogue of obsolete abstractions, as Newman supposed it to be; or a successful endeavour on the part of men to bewilder themselves methodically, *s'égarer avec méthode*, as Michelet says; or an attempt to find their way in a cloud of dust which they themselves had raised. It is an attempt to find out the meaning of life. If life has no meaning, theology is a futile speculation about nothing. When the soul has no concern for its own existence, and men do not care whether life

has any meaning or not, they will not care for theology either.

Religion, theology, and ecclesiasticism are three different things; and neither theologians nor ecclesiastics have apprehended that simple fact, though it is not impossible that a man may unite all three in his own person as Paul did, as Jesus did not. But in Paul we miss the starved religious temperament and the dryness of heart which is common to ecclesiastics as a class. Their claim to be considered Christians has usually been that they were persecutors, whilst he had an inward experience; although he too had been an ecclesiastic and a persecutor at the same time. The essential thing with him was this inward change by which, through the exercise of the will, a man undergoes a complete and radical conversion, wrests himself from the power of sin, and puts himself on the side of God, with a new light in the eyes and fresh courage in the heart. In this Paul was of the mind of Jesus and of all religious men. It was to this experience Luther appealed. That is also the meaning of Wesley's doctrine of grace, by which the will is renewed and faith aroused. It is the meaning, too, of assurance of justification, which is the knowledge that all inner discord is at an end through the attain-

ment of peace in God, joy in Him, and love to all men. Erasmus describes this experience in a word: "The sum of religion is peace."

Paul's theology can be understood only if it is read in that light which shined round about him as he journeyed from Jerusalem to Damascus. It is merely an attempt to elucidate the mystery of simplicity, and continually he breaks away from his argument to enforce the new commandment: God is love, God loved the world, Love one another, We love Him because He first loved us, Be ye followers of God as dear children, walking in love as God loved you. That was the essential of his preaching. He must have been conscious of the many fallacies in his own theology when he turned upon it with the contemptuous admission: "Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not love, I am become as sounding brass, or clanging cymbals."

The centre of Paul's theology was personal religious experience, but he was willing to reinforce it with objective proofs, with theories and texts, conceptions and conclusions. Jesus was not. He was content to live. Also to those noble heathen, the Stoics, personal salvation was the prime concern, and the ethical conception of moral duties was built upon that. In this there

is a warning to theologians, not to show overmuch zeal for the last two elements of that trinity, religion, theology, and the church, and too little for the first. If all theologians had remembered that warning, the world would have been spared much misery.

By means of theology the collective spirit is brought to bear upon the individual, and it preserves the reflections of past generations upon their religious experience. But when it becomes cold in religious temperament, it not only puts forward the common and collective spirit as a more complete manifestation of the divine than the spirit of the individual, but it fails to see that this communized and collective spirit which unifies all religious experience is not final. It puts forward the ideas and institutions of a particular age as a changeless and infallible rule.

The worst possible preparation for the ministry of God is a course of instruction confined to any one of the many systems of theology which have gained credence. It fixes the student's mind and encourages him to believe that he is in possession of the truth. He fails to apprehend that all theologies are one theology, and that his little bit is only a partial truth at best, and at worst a false-

hood. It is exactly comparable with history. One cannot know any without knowing all.

It was only in his letters that Paul gave vent to his theological fancies ; but he never intended that those casual epistles should be bound together in a book, as a part of the word of God. In his preaching he said little of dogmas and creeds ; and those who urge us to leave them in the background or postpone their consideration till some more convenient season go too far, and do not go far enough. They must explain their meaning in the light of the time in which they were created, and the sense in which they are now discredited, or not mention them at all.

The common expression is that a man may reject the Confession of Faith on the ground that it is argumentative and unsentimental ; and the Athanasian Creed on the ground that it is a non-sympathetic forgery, and yet be entitled to the designation of Christian. This is a valuable concession ; but I should rather say that a man who did accept these compendiums of doctrine as a complete revelation of the truth was not a Christian. He might be a persecutor ; but that is not, in these days, held to be sufficient warrant, any more than it was in the time of Saul of Tarsus.

It is the business of theology to help people in

their efforts to believe what they have always believed, by making the transference of thought to new ideas so easy that they do not become aware that the old is entirely replaced by the new, as a good bee-keeper would transfer his swarm to a new hive, when the old had become overcrowded or infected. In this the theologians of our generation have failed us. They have allowed the people to scatter in the highway, which is not a favourite resort for the spirit of religion ; or, like obdurate mariners, they held their course too long and cast away the ship. The history of religion must take account of the continuity of human experience. Christianity itself is merely a phase of human life, and the various forms under which we see it are merely phases of Christianity. This is a business with which religious men of the second class — those who are not really poets and creators — may profitably occupy themselves, to establish the identity of the new with the old, and the unity of the present with the past, to bring present knowledge into harmony with old surmise, and bind the ages each to each in piety.

It is a work of necessity and not of piety alone to save the old theology by transforming its meaning into terms agreeable to the modern mind. In this sense theology is the most modern, the most

advancing, the most vital of all sciences. And I employ the word "science" with due deliberation, having full knowledge of all that is implied by the word to the straitest sect of the scientists.

Theology must be rewritten continually, and that in terms of poetry. A new symbolism must be created. The unknown author of the Epistle to the Hebrews has shown us the way. The burden of his song is that the light of the knowledge of the glory of God, which had shined in men's hearts, was contained in earthen vessels. These might perish, but the treasure remained. The old for him had passed away. The mystical powers of a hereditary priesthood had become too vague and shadowy. A meticulous observance of the Jewish law no longer sufficed for the needs of the spirit. He required a stronger "consolation," and fled for refuge to lay hold upon the new hope which was set before him. Yet he does not fail to bear in pious remembrance that God had spoken at sundry previous times, and in divers manners.

This was the task which Immanuel Kant also endeavoured to perform for his generation. It has not yet been adequately done for ours. But in his day the ground had not been sufficiently cleared for that edifice of religion, theology, and church which he strove to erect within the bounds of

reason. His new reading, as interpreted by Pfeiderer, of the old conception of justification by atonement will serve as an illustration of what may be done by an allegorical method of exegesis:

All speculation begins with the origin of evil. Paul had two theories, neither of which is satisfactory, and the one contradicts the other. Kant traces it to an "intelligible act of freedom," and leaves it at that. The problem now is to transform an evil disposition into a good one, to awaken in the mind the idea of moral perfection by contemplation of it as expressed in the person of Jesus. But the real object of religious faith is not necessarily a historical Jesus, but a humanity so well-pleasing to God that we may conceive of it as having come down from heaven. He who believes in this idea and lets it govern his life has then a rightness of disposition, in virtue of which the minor imperfections of humanity may be considered accidental and transitory. In the daily suffering of self-discipline, obedience, and patience, the new man suffers vicariously for the old. This avoids the idea of one who by a process of substitution suffers for all, an event which cannot occur in the sphere of morality.

In the mind of Kant the old things had passed away. What he did for the conception of the

atonement was done for the old doctrine of sin and salvation by Schleiermacher, who, in addition to moral earnestness, possessed a finer spiritual perception by which he was the more able to adapt and assimilate, and so succeeded even better in the reconstruction of theology than the over-intellectual Kant or the insensible, historical Herder who preceded him.

Every system of religion which did not eventually lose itself in the sand has organized itself into the life of the past, and by a process of transformation has secured an orderly development and permanent growth. The history of all religions is merely a record of this amalgamation of the new with the old. When a race of Poseidon worshippers settled amongst the worshippers of Athena they identified an Athenian male deity, already existing, with their own god, and accorded to both a joint worship in a common temple. The early church accepted the primitive Semitic idea of the common meal in which the tribal god had his share; but they left it in a condition of fluidity, so that the god might at all future times represent the embodiment or personification of the experience which the tribe accumulated, and of the increasing wisdom which arises out of an enlarged experience. This wise measure left them free to

incorporate into their observance the secondary idea of a sacrifice to win back the favour and avert the anger of an absent god who — so they were informed by a growing consciousness of right and wrong — had every reason to be displeased. And so the Christian sacrament became a magical means for maintaining unbroken the religious unity of the race. The stream of heathenism long ran side by side with the Hebrew religion. Finally they merged, and heathenism was swallowed up, but to the end it gave a tinge and tendency to the predominant current. Hebraism lost itself in Christianity, and the great work of St. Paul was the blending and direction of the new tide.

The weakness of Protestantism is that it is without a theology. The foundation of the old is shaken, and most sensible persons are agreed that it is time to stop erecting any further superstructure upon it. The utmost ever claimed was that this foundation was probably safe. The utmost now claimed is that it is probably unsafe, but may do well enough. We cannot do without religion. Religion cannot do without a church. A church cannot do without a theology. The theology which we have is unreal, and the church is unreal too. All men have come to see that an outworn theology will not do for a living church.

There is no use putting new wine into decayed bottles, or adding new cloth to an old garment. The bottles have already burst. The rent is growing worse daily. Nor will the old phrases suffice : accept a creed, receive the sacraments. Even the terms, "lost," "saved," "washed in the blood of the Lamb," fail to appeal.

Protestantism has forgotten that the clumsy weapon which Paul forged for the destruction of the two giants, Judaism and Gnosticism, is ineffectual against the nimble enemy of to-day. In lesser matters also the situation is changed. He had definite situations to deal with, and his argument is chiefly of historical importance. There is now no question of eating meat which has been offered to idols, and afterwards finds its way into the markets. If such food were procurable upon favourable terms, we should enjoy it, without much fear of the demons who were assumed to have entered into it. The matter of the circumcision does not trouble us. We have solved to our satisfaction the problem of women speaking in church, and they have decided for themselves the clothing which they shall wear. Our views of marriage and divorce are fixed. The payment of our ministers is in many instances established by law, and in all by custom. There is some order in

our church services. We do not anticipate daily the Parousia in the red morning or the golden evening. We are not looking continually that the door of heaven may open and the last trumpet sound. We do not expect that those of us who are now living will be caught up into glory. We are sure that we will descend into the grave as our fathers have descended.

These circumstances no longer exist, but others of equal importance have come into existence, and upon these our theologians must make up their minds. They must decide whether they will accept the statement of an unknown Semitic writer upon the origin of created beings, and the burden of sin which we lie under, or the general teaching of science, that the depravity of men is due not to a fall from primitive purity, but to their late emergence from the ape. They must interpret for us the meaning of this, that the further back we go, the more impure the race appears, and that a true type of the primitive man is not that pair "of noble shape, God-like, erect and tall, with native honour clad in native majesty, the lords of all," but the Tasmanian natives of a hundred years ago with their short stature, long arms, black, hairy skins, and naked bodies, employing for household needs flint scrapers and knives, and for defence a wooden

club hardened by fire, which was grasped by the great toe and dragged along until necessity for its employment arose.

The material for a new theology — which after all will not be new — is ready at hand. It only requires a new saint to embody the spirit of religion and a new theologian to provide a gnosis. Until that event arrives, probably the best that can be done is for each one of us to endeavour to be as religious as he can, with a faith that out of this communized feeling will arise in due season a new theology and a new church.

I am quite well aware that there is a thing which is called by the specific term New Theology. It aims at being scientific, observing facts, and making deductions. The ground of enquiry has been transferred from the mind of God to the minds of men. Its exponents are busy investigating the operation within the individual of those influences which come from without. They perceive that religious experience is a fact, that emotions are produced by it, and that conduct is influenced by them for good. From this effect they predicate a cause, and then proceed to investigate the nature of it. Conversion is a reality, as real as any other human experience. Prayer and public devotion have their results in patience, pureness,

long-suffering, kindness, unfeigned love. From these effects certain deductions are made as to the source from which they come, and theories are created about the manner in which these influences are propagated. Instead of Spinoza's *cognitio Dei intuitiva*, it offers us proof of the sure existence of God.

Even mathematics has been pressed into the service of this new and scientific theology. In the "Hibbert Journal" for January, 1909, Professor C. T. Keyser holds "that recent developments of mathematical science, as furnishing direct insight into the positive nature of the Infinite, are of the greatest importance to theology." But on account of natural incapacity or lack of opportunity, not all persons are versed in the higher mathematics, and it seems hard that they should on that account be debarred from a saving knowledge of the living and true God.

The earliest of these new theologians was Schleiermacher. He demonstrated that Christian faith does not consist in doctrinal propositions which arise from intellectual reflection upon the subject, but is "a condition of devout feeling, a fact of inward experience, an object which may be observed and described." True its results may be observed and described ; but no one can describe an experi-

ence which he himself has not experienced ; and it does not necessarily follow that, even if a man should undergo such an experience, he would have either the desire or the capacity to give an account which would be satisfactory to himself or intelligible to others. The poet-books are filled chiefly with observations and descriptions of the mutual passion of the male and the female ; but in spite of all this information, there is an element of surprise when that passion is first felt by the individual. I suppose that is as true of the poets and theologians as of the most diligent reader of their works.

In this new theology also there is fallacy. Search for abstract proof begins in doubt and ends in despair. " Fear God " has made many men happy: " proofs " of the existence of God have made many men atheists. At one time I possessed a sure conviction that two and two make four ; but in an evil moment I allowed myself to become interested in a controversy upon the subject between Professor Taylor and a colleague. Now I am in despair that I shall ever attain to a finality of opinion upon the subject. In less rational mood I have a vision that the old formula is sufficiently accurate for the practical purpose of adjusting my relation between the man whom I owe and

the man who owes me ; that, in short, it is adequate for purposes of conduct. This new investigation into the operation of influences which are assumed to come from without is in reality a spiritualized psychology conducted in a spiritual laboratory, to employ the striking phrase of Mr. Justice Archibald.

In so far as I am able to inform myself, these theologians have not yet advanced beyond the stage of human psychology and psychical research. Great hopes were entertained that by "laboratory methods" the nature of the soul could be determined, and from that the nature of God inferred. They have attained to quite definite results. By an ingenious arrangement of a bed on a light framework supported by very delicately balanced beam-scales upon which a moribund patient was placed for three hours and forty minutes, and allowed to die, it was determined that the weight of the soul was three-fourths of an ounce. The report is quite specific: "Coincident with death the beam end dropped with an audible stroke, hitting against the lower, limiting bar, and remaining there with no rebound"; and yet it is questionable if our knowledge of the soul is much enhanced by these elaborate mechanical contrivances.

These are pretensions, like the pretensions of Kant, that with mortal foot he could pass beyond the gate of human experience, and they are as fallacious as the political pretensions of Louis XIV. The fate of the king has ever since been a warning to politicians. The fate of the philosopher should be a warning to new theologians. There is nothing in this new theology to induce one to abandon the original contention that God is not apprehended by any device of the intellect. To seek to do so is a surrender to the materialistic idea that the scientific spirit broods over the universe, and that by searching we can find out God. This vain attempt to convert religion into terms of logic is not being made, I admit, by irreligious men, but by many a fine spirit following the religious sense under the delusion that it is following the understanding.

I do not think that the new theologians have met with results sufficient to encourage them in this research beyond the limits of human experience. Within those limits they have observed and classified; but I do not think they have made any clearer the mystery of personal religious experience, by which the individual escapes from the domination of transitory things. "Not surely of deliberate effort of thought," says George Gissing

again, "does a man grow wise. The truths of life are discovered by us at moments unforeseen. Some gracious influence descends upon the soul, touching it to an emotion which, we know not how, the mind transmutes into thought. This can only happen in a calm of the senses, a surrender of the whole being to passionless contemplation."

I understood when I went into the sanctuary of God, is the way in which the Hebrew psalmist expresses the method of search by which the mystery may be solved, and even yet in the twilight of a church the word "God" may acquire an intelligible meaning which is missed in the clear light and frigid atmosphere of reason. It boots little for a man to know that the psalm in which this expression occurs is a psalm of Asaph, and that Asaph signifies a collection of religious poems which were put together in Babylonia in the early Greek period, if his knowledge does not result in some amplification of the statement with which the poem ends: "It is good for me to draw near to God."

No system of religion but ours has ever proceeded upon the assumption that the mystery of God could be investigated, or that it was desirable that it should be investigated; and we may content ourselves with the assurance that the new

investigators will not pluck out the heart of it. "Hallowed be thy name" expressed the attitude of Jesus. "Thou shalt not take his name in vain" was the injunction to the Hebrews. The Romans never mentioned their household gods: and the "holy things" of the Greeks were regarded as too holy to be looked upon. With fine reticence the writers of the first two Gospels omit to mention the last words of their master as being too sacred for utterance. This attitude of reverence is not an artificial one. The peasantry forbear to name the "little people" by whom they are surrounded. This restraint of speech enters even into the human relationship: it is a mark of vulgarity of mind when a man mentions the name of his beloved dead.

It may well be that the present condition of bewilderment is due to the discovery not yet made fully conscious to us that the Hebrew idea in Christianity is alien to our race. All Semitic faiths are based upon revelation. The Jews never believed anything which they could understand. They did not desire a theory. That was left for the Gentile world, of which we are. The Greeks demanded a philosophy of God as the Scotch require a logic. Doubtless it would be better if all peoples would adopt the Scotch practice instead

of going to their own place in their own way; but to suppose that they will be amenable to reason would indicate an excess of proselytizing zeal. The Scotch mind demands a kind of theological ephemeris, as a mariner requires a table of calculated positions and motions of the heavenly bodies from day to day, or at regular intervals. Indeed the "Gifford Lectures" are a crude attempt to determine the status of God for a given period. Of course scientific accuracy is impossible, as the personal equation of the lecturers is so variable, and the data themselves are so veiled in obscurity.

God is in heaven, therefore all is right with the world. That is the conception which we have borrowed from the Jews, to replace the older idea in which our race was nourished, that God is on earth. Between these two is fixed the gulf which separates West and East. The religion of the East is a manifestation of that inward light of which Mr. Hall Fielding writes so charmingly, and not of a great light which came down from heaven. It says this thing is true as an artist should say, "I feel this curve is right or this line should fall thus," and not because some one — Moses, Jesus, Paul, Luther, Calvin, Mrs. Eddy — said so, or because it is written in a book.

This scientific theology at its best is in reality a revival of the method of Buddha, who declared that he had found a way which, if a man would follow, leads to serenity and peace. Come and see, he said, what God hath done for my soul ; but our new theologians are prone to weary us by telling at second-hand what happened in some other person's soul, and how it came about. It is questionable if they appreciate what an entire reversal of Christianity this experimental method is, reasoning from the known to the unknown, instead of from the unknowable to the known, taking a stand within the experience, instead of arguing downward from a postulate.

And yet, whatever the system, it becomes corrupt in time. The caste and ceremonial of modern Hinduism is a degeneration from that pure religion which arose out of a life that was pure and free, a public life that was brave and patriotic, a private life that was lovely and happy, an intellectual life that was learned. In precisely the same way the teaching of Jesus was transformed into an ecclesiastical Christianity, furnished forth by Paul and his followers with a full equipment of belief in original sin, vicarious sacrifices, and atonement. His fine freedom gave place to a government by bishops, deacons, and their subordinates ; sacra-

ments took the place of the reality which they were designed to show forth; simplicity and austerity were vitiated by a spirit of compromise in which righteousness was made subordinate to human convenience. It required nearly five hundred years for the Brahmins to make a monopoly of religion. The followers of Jesus did their work in less than two hundred. Indeed the original enthusiasm, the faith in God, the faith in love, the faith in the impossible even, in virtue of which the spirit casts away its cares, and goes with trust and confidence and serenity, had evaporated as early as the time of writing the Epistles to Timothy and Titus. So early as that, faith in Jesus had become a creed; devotion to him a Christology; the coming of the kingdom an egotistic immortality; prophecy, a textual exegesis; ministers, clerics; prayers, litanies; the community, a ceremonial ecclesiasticism; and the Gospel an unyielding system of legality.

VII

Those who are specifically engaged in the service of religion would do well to realize that there is a diversity of gifts. When Father Simon was asked by the Archbishop of Paris what he was doing to prepare for the higher orders of the

priesthood he replied, "Monseigneur, I am criticizing the Bible." If the same question were put to a Protestant minister to-day, he might reply truthfully, and in the belief that he was following the proper course, "I am engaged in the higher criticism."

This criticism is an affair for scholars. A man may be religious without being a scholar, but he cannot be a scholar without being religious. When a man who is merely religious and without other equipment meddles with scholarship, he is sure to say something foolish. The best he can do is to stand aside and leave scholars to their task, and when that is finished, seize upon the results for the enrichment of his mind. He may pray for them, but he should not interfere. The business of scholars is to break down all systems of theology, to resolve them into their elements, to disclose the facts of experience which they contain, to put aside the temporary and the accidental, casting down the things that can be shaken, so that the things which cannot be shaken may endure in their power and beauty.

I think that most persons are in agreement that no age or race can contrive a theology which will be adequate for the next age or another race. We may now go so far as to say that no man can con-

trive a theology which will be entirely adequate for any other man. Each one must make a theology for himself, which will be a thing living and changing day by day, as his experience enlarges and his knowledge grows. It is possible that this will appear as a daring experiment to the theological mind, which takes it for granted that the non-theological mind is incapable of comprehending any head of doctrine ; and that since all attempts at understanding are hopeless, nothing remains but a passive acceptance.

It is the business of theologians to create out of these individual experiences, their own included, a systematized theory of God as a working formula for the church, which preserves and transmits to posterity the record of God's dealing with men. The first lesson they must learn is not to take their business too seriously. The next lesson they must learn is to take it seriously enough. They must strive with all their might to find out God, and at the same time be fully convinced that they cannot formularize the idea within the limits of any dogma.

It is a fundamental fallacy that a theology can be created unless the spirit of religion inspires, or that either can endure without an ecclesiastical organization. And yet, on the other hand, the let-

ter kills the spirit ; the priest betrays the church and destroys the prophet ; and the theologian slays the saint. As if the matter were not sufficiently complicated, there is this further to be said : that religion is served by self-interest, which itself lies at the foundation of the church, and eventually destroys it.

A church is in one sense a habitation for men, and in another sense which completes the idea, a repository for religion, a means of carrying out God's work in the world by the perfecting of the individual. It is an edifice constructed by human hands. Like all works of finite intelligence, it is subject to time and chance. Every system of human contrivance has in itself the seeds of decay. Death goes hand in hand with life, and it is merely a question of time which shall prevail. Therefore we need not wonder at the condition of degradation into which at times the church has fallen.

Let us admit to the uttermost these mutations of decay. The prophet Jeremiah lived in one of those periods, and the twelfth century yields another illustration, when Innocent III in the Bull dated June 8th, 1198, declared that only fire and sword could destroy and save. Benefices were put up for sale to the highest bidder ; prelates were

bought by fees; clerics resorted to any means to make provision for their illegitimates; monasteries added to their other attractions women like those who were evil in Judæa; priests paid to their bishops a fee known as a *collageum*, in return for the poor privilege of keeping a harlot, which proves the simplicity of the priests as well as the avarice of the bishops. All these things are contained, not in the book of the martyrs, but in the successive bulls against assassination, incest, adultery. Religion was lost in magical formulæ, in liturgical ceremonies. Yet it emerged again, and men were drawn to it by the marvellous attractiveness of the simplicity and austerity of the Povarello, the poor little man of Assisi.

To be quite comprehensive, one might refer to the church in England in the fifteenth century, about which the Corporation of London has just published some details. In "Letter Book I," covering the period 1400-1422, there is a record of nearly seventy cases of adultery which were brought before the Mayor and Aldermen, and nearly fifty of them concerned the clergy. To be still more comprehensive, I might refer to the same church under its altered constitution, and to the Presbyterian church as well, when Wesley and his followers revolted against the lifeless for-

mality of the one and the deadly fatalism of the other. Yet out of these churches arose by the means of men trained in them the "rediscovery of the love of God," as set forth in the five universals of Methodism, so well catalogued by Dr. Workman: that all men need salvation; that all men may be saved; that all may know themselves to be saved; that all should declare their salvation; and that all may attain to holiness.

As the spirit decays, its place is taken by the institution. That is a law. It is a law also in physiology that in the process of degeneration the finer tissue is replaced by a hard, resistant substance, lest a worse thing befall. In a more purely pathological condition the decaying tissue is replaced by a new growth which in turn breaks down and destroys the organism. This cancer is the result of deficient vitality and not the cause. The history of that organization which was originally designed for the Christianizing of young men yields an excellent illustration of this tendency to replace the spirit by the institution. In the outset its whole energy was expended upon the spiritual salvation of those to whom it appealed. To-day its claim for support is based upon the humanitarian plea, that it makes young men efficient not by revealing to them the mystery of

God and of goodness in the world, but by making them more accomplished in the use of their intelligence and of their muscles, especially of those which have to do with the operation of a writing-machine.

The whole controversy turns upon the question, What is the chief end of man? To this also there are two answers. Whether shall it be to seek first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness, with a surety that all other things needful will be added, or to seek first for the things which are imagined to be of immediate necessity? In this lies the distinction between the old evangelicism which made men dissatisfied with their character, and the new institutionalism which makes them dissatisfied with their surroundings. The one was the method of Jesus: the other is the method of "practical Christianity." Both cannot be right. Upon this question the church must make up its mind.

The belief that God created the church by a more specific act of Providence than that by which He created the world is merely an assumption of ecclesiastics, who are actuated by the laudable desire to magnify their own office. Even Jesus, when he was on earth, did not find himself especially brother to the ecclesiastic. He dissented from the church which he found in existence, and took no

measures to establish a new one. He initiated no ordinances. He did not baptize. He instituted no sacrament. The comparison of the broken bread with his broken body and the red wine with his shed blood was a parable, not a sacrament, as the pouring out of the ointment by the woman was an emblem of his burial. He left behind him merely an enthusiasm in the hearts of those who had been so closely drawn to his person, and they, with a sure instinct that all enthusiasm is evanescent, proceeded to secure it within the limits of a church. With an equally sure instinct they were resolved that no religious fact should be lost.

In periods of great theological dissolution like the present there is always a slackening of ecclesiastical organization ; but it is not the distinctive mark of a religious man that he stays away from church. In the city of New York, in the year 1905, according to Dr. Laidlaw's estimate in the "Federation of Churches," there were 1,071,981 Protestants who attended no place of public worship ; and we are informed that 80 per cent of the Jews are alienated from their own synagogues. These are not religious above all men. It is a poor retort of Protestants that the area of "Romish darkness" is also diminishing ; and they are welcome to such ground for comfort and boasting as

they can find in the startling statistics which Mr. McCabe supplies of the decay of the Catholic church. All churches are one church, and if the Catholic church in France has diminished in fifty years from thirty millions in a population of thirty-six millions to six millions in a population of thirty-nine millions, the gain is not to Protestantism or to Christianity either. Men do not willingly or of set purpose refrain from the exercise of the religious consciousness, nor do they deliberately abstain from the assembling of themselves together. They stay away from church either because their intelligence is offended, or because they receive no pleasurable stimulation of their religious sense, — for the same reason that sensible men do not go to a theatre which does not stimulate a feeling for music or dramatic action.

There are two ways by which men have striven to find God: by magic, divination, sorcery, superstition, rites, and ceremonies; and experimentally in the heart. The former is the way of the ecclesiastics; the latter is the way of Jesus. And yet one must not say that these two methods are mutually contradictory or even entirely distinct. The celebration of certain rites arouses a genuine religious emotion in the minds of persons to whom they are utterly meaningless; and a religious

atmosphere is created which in turn influences persons to whom those rites are superstitions. In many places it is customary for a man to raise his hat as he passes a church wherein is exposed — as he believes, and as some hundred millions of his fellow-men believe — the body of the Lord. An unbelieving companion, if he is not a churl, will join in this little act of respect, as he would to a woman who was known to his companion but not to him ; and if he is not entirely insensible to the finer emotions, he will experience a faint religious feeling.

Again, a person may be convinced that God can exist very well without the offering of human praise or prayer ; and yet if he practise the repetition of the Lord's prayer in a mechanical way as a device against sleeplessness, he is very liable to experience a sensation of comfort. It is a law that all stimuli must be increased in intensity according to the frequency with which they are used, and it is quite conceivable that these two little acts of adoration and prayer might lead to frequent attendance upon public worship, where the sight of others under the influence of religious emotion would produce its effect by contagion. Upon this matter no one is entitled to offer an opinion until he has made experiment of it.

What man, unless he is hardened by habitual and violent protesting, can remain unmoved in the presence of a Catholic woman praying for her dead? If it is his own dead for whom she prays, he is quite capable of discarding his Protestantism to adopt the tenets of a church which encourages so pious and comforting a practice. If it were not for death, there would be no religion ; and religion will endure so long as death prevails. Each man for himself must put himself in a proper relation to the surroundings in which he finds himself. As the young preacher says, he must be "rightened"; and as soon as he gets himself thus rightened, he experiences a feeling which is called religious. He behaves differently because he is rightened and not because he has the feeling. One can simulate a feeling unconsciously and honestly. Electrical stimulation makes a blind man think he sees. He has merely the feeling of seeing, but in reality he sees not. Even if a man had the real religious feeling without being rightened, it would not much amend his conduct ; but the artificial creation of an emotion will bring about the condition of mind from which that emotion normally arises. That is the true explanation of the value of private devotion and public worship.

Protestantism as a means of ministering to this

human need for religious observance has failed. It may do what it likes to arouse the deeper emotions by decking its pulpits with flowers and with monstrous fruits on its days of thanksgiving. It may enrich its music and colour its windows. It may contrive a liturgy, as a beaver in a zoölogical garden attempts by reason of a deep instinct to construct a dam with the poor material he can find. It is merely competing in its decoration with the agricultural fair, in its music with the concert, in its liturgy with the Catholic church. One who has heard the silver trumpets at the papal Mass, where even the sub-deacon is a cardinal, and the Gospel is read in Greek, and has seen the Pontiff breaking at the altar and communicating at his seat — because Christ broke the bread at Emmaus, but eat before the disciples at Jerusalem, and suffered his Passion in the public gaze — will understand the futility of these little Protestant devices for appealing to the heart of the race.

The trouble with the Protestant minister is this: he does not know what he is. It is quite open for any man to choose whether he will attend a service at which a priest or a minister officiates, whether he will be a Catholic or a Protestant. The Catholic church is served by priests. The essence of its system is sacrifice, the sacrifice of

the Mass, by which the body and blood of Jesus are sacrificed anew every time the service is performed. But Protestantism fails to apprehend, or rather denies, that anything really does happen. In the religious rites of the Hebrews, of the Greeks, of the Romans, actual sacrifice of beasts or of human beings was made by the priest. In the Catholic church there is at least a theoretical sacrifice; but Protestantism is the negation of the sacrificial idea; and therefore in it there is no place for the priest.

The weakness of Protestantism to-day is due to the fact that its ministrants are not entirely convinced that they no longer retain any priestly quality: and for lack of that conviction, they have not wholly developed the quality of minister. Being uncertain of their vocation, they have jumped to the conclusion that their business is the propagation of ideas. That is why Protestant churches are usually empty. Even if they were in possession of ideas, it would not follow that men would be drawn unto them. That is why Catholic churches are always full: because they have no ideas to propagate, but afford a place of calm for the senses, a retreat from the world of thought, an incentive to worship for which the soul yearns, a stimulus for that religious emotion which suf-

fuses the whole being, and translates the world of reality into the sphere of imagination.

When all theological systems have been reduced to a condition of fluidity, and flux, and continuous flowing, a universal church will formulate itself, and all men will be drawn unto it for the sheer enjoyment of losing themselves in the Infinite. By the contemplation of heavenly things the transitory and perishable will seem of less importance than they now appear to be; and men will turn from them with hatred and full purpose to endeavour after a new obedience.

Religion has to do with the emotions, and an emotion arises from a condition of mind. It is the business of a man who is concerned specifically with religion to create a condition of mind from which religious emotions will arise. The traditional method in Protestant churches is to put the people in mind of heaven or of hell. But that is too coarse for these times; and any faint spark which has been enkindled is apt to be quenched by the announcement that the Dorcas Society will meet on Thursday, and that the collection, which it is hoped will be a liberal one, will be devoted to the purposes of Foreign Missions, even at a moment when one is yearning for a mission to himself.

The ability to induce a condition of mind out of which religious emotions will arise is not given to every man. That is reserved in the highest degree to men of religious genius such as Augustine and Wesley were; yet the ministry can justify itself only by conveying to men a call which will be effectual for their awakening, so that they may be enlightened as to their actual condition, and persuaded to improve it. There is no universal formula which will be equally applicable to all men. To one Jesus said, Sell all that thou hast; to another, Follow me; to another, Thou art not far from the kingdom. There are many ways in which a man may be awakened — by the crack of a pistol, by the crying of a trumpet, or the beat of a drum; but, like the soldier on the field, “he may swear an oath or two, and so sleep again.” Also, men may be aroused by gentler methods, as our first parents were, by “sweet sounds upon a bank of flowers.” There is a rude but effectual device which boys employ, the application of sulphur fumes to the nostrils. The last great exponent of that dangerous method was Jonathan Edwards, who succeeded in bringing men to an apprehension of “the mercy of God in Christ” by putting them in mind of hell. Since his time we have grown more humane, or, it may be, more

sentimental; and the Christian hell has become a comparatively tolerable place and heaven less alluring.

The cry of the young preacher is, Back to Jesus. Backward is always the cry of the traditionalists. The preacher must first tell us, as Paul did, what God has done for his soul, and so persuade us in virtue of that to embrace, as the Catechism says, Jesus Christ freely offered to us in the Gospel and shining with a new light. But first, God must have done something for his soul, which is pretty clearly revealed in his life. That is his sole warrant of authority.

Those whose business it is to make this condition of mind to prevail have direct instruction under the hand of Paul. That is his supreme value to the world, his perception of the state of mind which results in right conduct. What, then, is his view of the conduct proper for the ministry? If you would commend or approve yourselves as ministers of God, he writes, you must refrain from giving offence, you must be patient even in affliction, in necessities, in distress, in labours, in watchings, in fastings. He also prescribes the conduct to be observed in circumstances which, I fancy, are less common now than in his time — imprisonments and tumults. He makes no men-

tion of skill in theological argument, but he makes a great deal of pureness, long-suffering, kindness, unfeigned love, the word of truth, the power of God. Finally he becomes more direct, and in one of his splendid paradoxes charges that, if you would make a religious condition of mind to prevail, you must be sorrowful yet rejoicing, poor yet making many rich, having nothing yet possessing all things. Then those days will come, which St. Francis yearned for, "when every fire-side shall be a temple, and every believer a priest of God."

But how shall this transformation of the nature be accomplished? Kant himself admits that it is not by a gradual reformation, but by a fundamental revolution, by a new birth. In this all religious teachers from Jesus to the street preacher are in agreement. But whilst salvation is an inward experience of the individual, the new principle in which it results can be assured only if its supremacy in a community constitutes the kingdom of God. That is the true church.

At this point the philosopher fails us. In an atmosphere of abstract intellectualism common humanity will not likely find stimulus or incentive towards that change which he describes as a

fundamental revolution, and the Christian experiences as conversion. To the one it is an affair of the reason: to the other it is an affair of the imagination, an emotion, a passionate enthusiasm, a fresh miracle each time it occurs.

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